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'An Old Ballad Monger'
Hannah More's Unpublished Letters 1798-1827

by

Bonnie Lorraine Herron ©

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ABSTRACT

Many scholars are familiar with William Roberts' Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More, published in 1836. Missing from Roberts' work are the one hundred and twenty-two unpublished letters of the More-Addington collection, which make up the body of this thesis. I have established, by research and reasoning, a chronological order, and I have annotated these letters.

The Introduction first chronicles the provenance and the transmission of the letters. Next is biographical information, which describes More's time in London and her early success as a poet and playwright. She became notorious, after 1792, as the mastermind of the Cheap Repository Tracts, of which she penned over fifty. Biographical detail about the Addington family, which included Henry Addington, John's brother, who became Prime Minister, describes this family's connections to powerful political leaders and to Royalty. I also give a brief history of More's home, Barley Wood, and the Addington's home, Langford Court.

The following section of the Introduction juxtaposes More's religious practices, with those of the mainstream Church of England, and with the Methodists, who were moving toward their eventual break from the Church of England. Hannah More is revealed in these letters and elsewhere, as a staunch supporter of the status quo, who is opposed to constitutional reform, to anything French, and to secularism

in general. The Introduction describes the controversy she caused when she established her thirteen charity schools in the Mendip Hills of Somerset, in order to teach children to read the Bible. She was a politically active woman, determined to regulate the behaviour of the labouring classes through literacy and philanthropy on behalf of the upper and middle ranks, which made her a favourite target of some male clergy and some members of dissenting groups.

I discuss next the content of More's letters to the Addingtons. Her letters to John Addington discuss politics, economics, and also her production of tracts for the 1816-17 anti-Cobbett campaign against constitutional reform. Two tracts sent as samples survive with the collection. These letters reveal how deeply More cares for the preservation of England in the face of Napoleon's aggression and how much she is willing to extend herself, on behalf of the nation, well into her seventies. Her letters to the Addington women are replete with discussions about economics, literature, politics and quotidian domesticity. She slides easily back and forth between topics of national import, anecdotes about world leaders, and what she is having for dinner.

Lastly, I compare and contrast More's letters with those of Agnes Paston (1445) and Virginia Woolf. This comparison reveals many similarities in epistolary form and content which span centuries of letters written by women. And although many philosophical differences separate More and Woolf, their wartime letters do resemble each other in some ways.

The Introduction concludes with the suggestion that this collection should be viewed alongside the recently-purchased Clark Library collection of More's letters, which are those used by William Roberts as the source of his Memoirs. Because she was a hugely-influential ideologue of her day, and because she has been judged mainly by her public persona, this collection is important in that it reveals a private Hannah More, who is unfamiliar to most modern scholars.

In the Textual Practices section of this thesis, I discuss my intention to maintain minimal editorial interference and I describe my methods for doing so.

The Works Used section is followed by Appendix A, which contains a sample of More' handwriting.

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I am deeply grateful for the guidance and encouragement of Isobel Grundy, who supervised this thesis. To William, Richard, and Elizabeth Hoskyns, I am also indebted.

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INTRODUCTION

Two recently-discovered caches of letters written by educator, evangelist, and political propagandist Hannah More have sparked the interest of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century scholars. One set of letters, bought in early 1997 by the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library at the University of California, Los Angeles, is the source that William Roberts used for his 1836 work, Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More. The Clark collection consists of about 250 letters written between 1777 and 1827: 150 letters and letter fragments, written by Hannah More; 84 letters written to More by her friend Ann Kennicott; 11 letters to More by other correspondents. The letters of this collection are, for the most part, in good condition.

The second recent discovery is a collection of one hundred and twenty-two unpublished letters that were written by More between 1799 and 1827, to John Hiley Addington, his wife, Mary, and their daughter, also Mary. The More-Addington letters, edited and annotated, make up the body of this thesis. Although Mr. William Hoskyns of North Perrott, Somerset, currently owns the letters, they are housed by Richard and Elizabeth Hoskyns of Chiswick, London W4. Both William and Richard Hoskyns are direct descendants of the Addington family. The Hoskyns family has kindly provided access to the extant letters for this thesis.

As far as we know, no scholarly examination of More's unpublished letters to the Addingtons has occurred since Henry Thompson borrowed them from the Addington family, in 1838, prior to producing his biography: The Life of Hannah More: With Notices of Her Sisters. Thompson states:

> Haviland John Addington, Esq. of Langford Court, and his sister, Miss Addington, very obligingly communicated nearly 100 letters addressed by Mrs. More to their late father, the Right Hon. J. H. Addington.[1]

While it appears from this text that Thompson had access to almost all of the letters in this collection, he cites very briefly from only a few of them.

Apart from their being lent to Thompson, the letters have remained within the Addington family since they were written. In 1873, they were endorsed and carefully docketed by Mary Addington, John Addington's daughter, who was by this time in her eighties. There is no record of Mary Addington's having married, which could explain why the More-Addington letters were passed on to her father's sister, Elizabeth (Addington) Hoskyns, whose descendants retain the extant letters today.

More was born near Bristol, into a family of educators, who were acquainted with conservative politicians such as Edmund Burke. Her connections led her to London when she was in her early thirties, where she expanded her political and social networks to include: Samuel Johnson, who needs no introduction; David Garrick, the great actor of the day; Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu and other members of the intellectual Bluestocking circle; Beilby Porteus, the Bishop of London; and many members of the peerage. More, by this time, had written plays that were produced for the stage, as well as essays and poems that were published widely. Her literary talent earned her a place in the company of her culture's intellectuals, politicians, clerics, and royals. However, in 1785 More "retired" to the district of Wrington, outside Bristol, from where she conducted the remainder of her fifty-two year publishing career.

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[1] Henry Thompson, The Life of Hannah More: With Notices of Her Sisters (London: Printed for T. Cadell, Strand; and W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh, 1838) x.

The Addington family was prominent in its own right both before its members became acquainted with Hannah More, and during the time that she corresponded with them. John Addington and his brother, Henry Addington, later Lord Sidmouth, were the sons of Anthony Addington, a physician who attended to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. The young Addington boys were playmates of Pitt's son, William Pitt the younger, who later became Prime Minister of England in 1784.

Both Addingtons also became politicians. When Pitt and King George III had a falling out over the issue of Catholic rights, (in which the King refused to accept proposed reforms), the King appointed Henry Addington to the position of Prime Minister in 1801. Later, in 1812, Henry became head of the Home Department, which was responsible for domestic order in the tumultuous political climate of early nineteenth-century England. John Addington, an MP, worked with his brother in the Home Department during much of the time that he corresponded with Hannah More.

John and Mary Addington had three children. The eldest, Haviland, remains an enigma for several reasons. First, he is called "my poor brother" when his elderly sister later endorses a childhood letter of her own, which is included in this collection (see letter No. 1). At first, I believed that "poor" could indicate an early death. I also considered other possibilities such as an illness, either mental or physical, or some disaster or disgrace. For he is hardly mentioned in these family letters, which span a period of more than thirty years. Second, the question of Haviland's almost complete absence from this collection is complicated when Henry Thompson, in his acknowledgement of 1838 cited above, thanks "Haviland . . . and his sister, Miss Addington of Langford Court" for lending him their father's letters. It seems that Haviland was living in the family home, to which many of More's letters had been addressed, by 1838. Yet locally-written accounts of the family provide conflicting information about Haviland and the family home. Kelly's Directory[2] claims that H. J. (Haviland) Addington was the major land-holder of the family, while C. Marsden-

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[2] Kelly's Directory of Somerset, 1861.

Smedley[3] writes that Langford Court was passed, at John Addington's death in 1818, to his other son, Henry. Third, I have found no information about Haviland Addington in scholarly resource materials except for a record of his birth and he is not mentioned in Ziegler's biography of his uncle, Henry Addington. Fourth, further research has revealed that Haviland was buried in the church yard at Burrington, North Somerset, where his coffin-tomb records his year of death as 1868. By this point, I was beginning to question whether or not Haviland, like Elvis, was actually in his grave at Burrington. From these sparse and inconsistent records, I must speculate that Mary Addington's "poor" brother may have suffered some sort of illness or disgrace that might account for a period of estrangement from his family. He lived at Langford Court in 1838, whether or not he had inherited the residence from his father, and he died in 1868, two years before his younger brother Henry Unwin Addington.

Henry Unwin Addington became a very successful diplomat. He held posts in many countries including Spain, Switzerland, Germany and America. While Henry lived mostly away from England, his letters and his visits home caused great excitement for Hannah More, who was very fond of him.

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[3] Christopher Marsden-Smedley, Burrington Church and Village: A Short History (Burrington: C. Marsden-Smedley) 24.

More reveals her affection for Henry in the later letters of this collection.

Mary Addington, youngest of the three Addington children, wrote the earliest letter that appears in this collection. She was six or seven years old at the time of writing in 1798. She became a cultivated woman who owned quite an extensive number of books. The Hoskyns family of North Perrott had, until the 1950s, retained many of her books, which indicated that she had an informed interest in literature, both classic and modern. When she endorsed the letters of this collection in 1873, she would have understood and appreciated More's many references to classical and contemporary authors.

Two aspects of Mary Addington's childhood letter caused me to speculate about the initial connection between the More and Addington families. First, Mary's letter indicates that in 1798 the Addingtons had just moved into Langford Court, a residence which is about two miles from Hannah More's home at Barley Wood in the vicinity of Wrington, Somerset. Perhaps the More sisters and the Addingtons became acquainted when they became neighbours. It is also possible that Hannah More, who was very well-connected in literary, religious and political circles, might have been acquainted with Henry or John Addington, and she might very well have recommended Langford Court as an available property in her district of Wrington.

A second cause for speculation is Mary Addington's much later endorsement of her childhood letter. She says that her brother is at "Mr. More's school . . . " (see letter No. 1). It is tempting to pinpoint the initial connection between the More and Addington families with this reference, since Hannah More's father, Jacob, was a schoolmaster. However, Jacob More died at age eighty-three in 1783. It seems he could not be the Mr. More of Mary's letter.

Regardless of how they first met, and in spite of their fourteen-year age difference - - More was fifty-four years of age and John Addington was just forty when this collection begins in 1799 - - these two people developed an epistolary relationship that blossomed into friendship and affection, enveloping her four sisters as well as his wife and children, over a period of thirty years.

The second letter of this collection is the only letter here which was written by John Addington to Hannah More; it serves as evidence of the nature of their early relationship. In his letter of 1799, he chastises More for believing some apparently misleading gossip that was generated at a recent social gathering. It appears that More's answer to this letter began her epistolary relationship with this family, and most notably with Mr. Addington. From the indignant tone of his letter to More, and from her patient and open response, it is easy to detect that these two had a mutual respect for each other. This respect grew into affection as evidenced in the ensuing approximately sixty epistolary exchanges between them. John Addington's relationship with More ended in June 1818 with his death.

Since most letters of this collection originated at Barley Wood, in Somerset, England, and were sent mostly to Langford Court in the same county, some information about these residences is in order. Langford Court, a grand country house, was built during or before the seventeenth century. Parish records of Burrington Church, North Somerset, list an Edward Kenn living there in the 1620s. In 1636 the Court was sold to Francis Creswick, a Bristol merchant; his family lived there until 1703 when the Court was inherited by his descendants, the Jones family. One of their descendants, Elizabeth Jones, married the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley, Hannah More's good friend and neighbour. The Whalleys must have let the Court from 1784 to 1788 when the novelist, Susannah (Minifie) Gunning lived there. The Addingtons rented the Court from Whalley in 1798 but a memorial plaque in Burrington Church lists Sir John Addington as the owner of the Court by the time of his death in 1818.

Langford Court remained in the Addington family until 1870, when Henry Unwin Addington's widow sold it to the Llewellyn family. A sketch exists, which shows that the Court underwent renovations, with two wings being added, in the late eighteenth century. Most likely, these alterations would have been completed before the Addingtons began to live at the Court in 1798. The Llewellyns sold the Court in 1914 to the Wells family, who still own it. Today, the University of Bristol owns staff residences nearby at Langford House, as well as a number of buildings on the surrounding property, which contain the Department of Clinical Veterinary Science.[4]

Barley Wood was built by Hannah More and her four sisters as their country retirement home. In 1801 the five More sisters, who never married, moved to Barley Wood, located about one half mile from the town of Wrington, after having lived at Cowslip Green, also in the district of Wrington, since 1785. The rectangular-shaped house was built with two stories and a double thatched roof. There are many references in this collection to More's spending much time upstairs in her room -- either ill, or writing, or both; the house sits high above Wrington Road and affords a commanding view of the surrounding countryside. The five sisters lived together at Barley Wood for more than twenty-five years; all but Hannah More died there. In 1828, More sold Barley Wood to William Harford, whose brother, John, was said to be the model for the protagonist in her only novel, Coelebs in

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[4] See the University of Bristol WEB site. Langford Home Page. http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/VetSci/lang.htm. Also consulted, was Dr. Susan E. Shaw, BVSc(Hons) MSc DACVIM FACVSc CertArts(Arch) MRCVS. Dept. of Veterinary Clinical Sciences, Langford, e-mail to the author, 1 Mar. 1999.

Search of a Wife (1808). For further details about the residence in More's day, see Patricia Demers' The World of Hannah More.[5] Today Barley Wood is the home of a drug and alcohol treatment centre, a use which Hannah More, always a promoter of self discipline, would probably approve.

The topography of Somerset and some notable sites near Langford Court and Barley Wood support the strong connection between More and the Addingtons in these letters. The district of Wrington in which both homes are located is approximately ten miles south west of Bristol, a city which is located on the Bristol Channel. In fact, there is no place in the county of Somerset that is more than thirty miles from the sea. In letter No. 113, More echoes her culture's belief that sea air should promote good health, when she comforts Mrs. Addington, who has returned ill from a trip to the seaside in 1823. In letter No. 7, of 1811, she provides for Mr. Addington a description of Western England and Wales, including commentary on the negative effects of industry on the landscape, which she had observed on a recent trip.

The town of Wrington, and the village of Cheddar, where More opened her first of thirteen schools for the poor in 1789, are well known in other respects. John Locke was a native of Wrington, Edmund Burke was elected to Parliament from Wrington (with the enthusiastic approval of the More sisters), and an obscure female novelist named Albinia Gwynn died at Wrington in 1791; Hannah More subscribed to one of Gwynn's works. At Burrington Coombe, a gorge just north of Cheddar, Augustus Toplady, sheltering during a severe storm, wrote the hymn, "Rock of Ages." Also noteworthy is the 1997 discovery in the Cheddar Gorge of the remains of the nine-thousand year old "Cheddar Man." The caves near Cheddar have been long known as the earliest occupied in the Mendip Hills.

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[5] Patricia Demers, The World of Hannah More (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

In Hannah More's day, the Mendip Hills were replete with mines that produced a zinc compound called calamine, which was used to make brass. Villages close to Langford Court and Barley Wood, such as Shipham, Rowberrow, Nailsea and Cheddar, were made up of calamine miners and their families. The children of the miners were students of Hannah More's at her village schools, which had been established for ten years by the time the letters of this collection began in 1799. Letters of this collection describe a significant philanthropic undertaking initiated by Hannah More and John Addington, that was successful in relieving the severe economic distress of the miners of Shipham and Rowberrow when the market for calamine diminished. See the detailed discussion below.

While the above detail about family and location contextualizes somewhat the letters between More and the

Addingtons, a work by Martha (Patty) More, the Mendip Annals,[6] provides for scholars a particularly suitable starting point from which to begin a perusal of them. First, and most importantly, this work chronicles the activities of Hannah More from 1789 to 1799, the ten years prior to the beginning of this collection. The compiler of Mendip Annals is Martha (Patty) More, the youngest of the five More sisters, Hannah's favourite, and the partner who worked closely with Hannah to establish and supervise their thirteen charity schools in the mining villages of the Mendip Hills. The schools were founded for the purpose of teaching the poor to read; the first school opened at Cheddar in 1789.

More's schools were financially underwritten by Church of England evangelicals, William Wilberforce and Henry Thornton, a fact which implies a religious and philanthropic motivation on the part of these two men. However, they were also influential members of Parliament. Gary Kelly notes that political unrest in England, especially following the French Revolution of that same year, caused cultural leaders and the rising middle classes to attempt to "control the lower orders of society through literacy and philanthropy."[7] By funding the schools while More actually performed the work, Wilberforce and Thornton took advantage of "women's standards for evaluating social behaviour and women's ways of negotiating cultural crisis."[8] Along with Sarah Trimmer, More was a pioneer in the attempt to reform British society through literacy. She expresses her views on this subject in letter No. 3 of this collection.

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[6] Martha More, Mendip Annals, ed. A. Roberts (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1859).

A second relevant point about Mendip is that it provides information about "Female Clubs," a subject which John Addington discusses with More in letter No. 2 here. More established successful insurance schemes, which were similar to the Friendly Benefit Societies founded by some gentry to assist the poor. Once they had contributed weekly to the Club, poor women who became unable to work owing to sickness or childbirth were paid a small amount. More also paid the weekly dues for women who could not afford to pay. She wrote to a friend that she "found it would be good economy privately to give widows and other very poor women money to pay their club."[9] The dues also covered the cost of a funeral when needed. Collected dues were invested in stocks, which provided a healthy return. More's economic activities with her female clubs enabled many people without economic resources to benefit from the profits of capitalism. Martha More states that at one point, the Cheddar Club fund reached three hundred pounds and the Shipham fund was "very near as much."[10] In letter No. 3 More discusses the status of her female clubs.

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[7] Gary Kelly, Women, Writing and Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) 168. The "lower orders" is one of many ways to describe the labouring classes of More's day.

[8] Mitzi Myers, "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times: Social Fiction and Female Ideology." In Fetter'd or Free?: British Women Novelists, 1670-1815 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986) 275.

[9] Martha More, Mendip Annals, 64.

A third significant feature of Mendip is that it reveals evidence of More's Tory, Royalist, political stance by way of her schools' social activities and curricula. For example, at annual feast days of "the Club" the only song allowed was God Save the King. For poor villagers, who were accustomed to an oral tradition in which a variety of music, along with lyrics promoting political dissidence, were a large part, this restriction imposed a royalist song onto a portion of society that had not prospered under monarchy. Another feature of the annual "Club" day was More's delivering a "charge" (speech) to the assembled audience of students, their parents, gentry from surrounding areas and important members of the peerage and the Church of England. Martha More claims that the attendance in their ten parish schools was greater than one thousand children, and that some "Clubs" such as the Shipham Club of 1791 drew a total of four thousand people, including five hundred children, who heard Hannah More's "charge." That charge, delivered in the aftermath of the French Revolution, was counter-revolutionary in nature, with prescriptions for listeners to adhere to the status quo of current social, religious and political hierarchies.

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[10] Martha More, Mendip Annals 7. A modern equivalent to three hundred pounds would be approximately 18,000 pounds. See Margaret Doody's edition of Cecilia, Appendix IV.

Another tradition at the Mendip schools was More's public recognition system. There were rewards for students who demonstrated their compliance with the beliefs and practices of the state and the Church of England. Deserving young women received a crown piece, a pair of white stockings (knitted by a More sister), and a Bible. There to witness students receive rewards at these annual "Clubs" were clergy and gentry, including, in 1799, John Addington.

Curriculum too, supplied a steady diet of conservative, anti-seditious material to More's students. The Bible, the Church of England's catechism - - segmented for ease of learning - - , the Common Prayer Book, Psalters, and some of Hannah More's counter-revolutionary tracts from her Cheap Repository Tracts project of 1795-98 (see below), made up the curriculum of the Mendip Schools.

Although she remained a lifelong member of the Church of England, Hannah More's approach to religion differed from the mainstream. A brief review of the structure and beliefs of the Church of England will illustrate the differences between More's approach to religion and that of the status quo. The King was acknowledged as the head of the state and of the Church of England. The rubrics of the Book of Common

Prayer were legally confirmed by Parliament. Church of England members also adhered to Canons, or laws within the Church, which required members to obey not only the King, but also the governors of the Church. The Governing body of the Church was made up of a hierarchy of two Archbishops (Canterbury and York), bishops, ordained clergy, deacons, and parishioners.

The Church of England ordained only men to preach and to administer the sacraments; these practices stemmed from a belief in Apostolic Succession. The authority of the Church rested on this historical or genealogical descent which was parallel to a monarchy. Christ laid his hands on the twelve apostles and they in turn laid hands on prospective bishops, who laid hands on priests. Clergymen of the Church of England believed that they were in a direct line of hands-laid-on that went back to Christ himself. In the view of the Church, neither women nor laymen would have the authority to administer the sacraments because they were outside the Apostolic line.

Most Church of England clergy were not in the habit of teaching parishioners how to read, how to care for the physical needs of their families or how to set up industries by which they could supplement their incomes. These were the kinds of activities that were undertaken by the Evangelical arm of the Church of England, to which Hannah More belonged. She and her fellow evangelicals fully supported the monarchy, as well as the rubrics and Canons of the Church of England. However, they expanded their activities to include bringing religion into the daily lives of parishioners along with encouraging Sunday worship. According to Mary Waldron, More "had always believed, with the Evangelicals, that if it was sincere, Christianity would pervade and penetrate the ordinary concerns of daily life, and not be a marginal matter of church-going and ritual Sunday observance."[11]

Further complicating the theological climate of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was the Methodist movement founded by John Wesley. Although Wesley died in 1791, still a member of the Church of England, his legacy was an organization that struck a Plan of Pacification only four years after his death, followed two years later by the first major secession from the Church of England in 1797, with complete severance effected in 1811.

Let us examine a few practices and issues of the Church of England before comparing them to those of the Methodists. Ordained clergy of the Church of England conducted ordered public worship services in churches, during which metrical psalms were recited. Women were not allowed to preach. The Church had a long history of internal conflict between the high-church party, which relied on the Church itself, its sacraments and the clergy hierarchy as traditional authority, and latitudinarians who "allowed great freedom both in philosophy and divinity." The latitudinarians had "little room for the high-church doctrines of passive obedience to a hereditary monarch."[12]

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[11] Hannah More, Coelebs in Search of a Wife, ed. and Introduction Mary Waldron (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1995) vii.

Church of England bishops and clergy had become somewhat tolerant of dissent from outside the church, by such groups as the Baptists, Quakers and the immigrant Moravians from Germany; these groups were protected by the Toleration Act. However, Methodism started inside the church with John and Charles Wesley and their "Holy Club" at Oxford, from high-church beginnings. As it gained momentum, Methodism came to embody a puritan reliance on the Bible and the immediate force of prayer combined with Latitudinarian practices. Eventually they deviated from Church canons so far, that the only option was to break away from the Church of England. By 1788, for example, the Methodists were prosecuted for holding open-air services in Northamptonshire. During this period, John Wesley appealed to William Wilberforce, who was the most influential evangelical within the Church of England, for assistance.

Practices and beliefs of the Methodists differed substantially from those of the Church of England. The Methodists formed societies for worship, in and out-of-doors, used full-time lay ministers, sang hymns during public worship, and allowed women to take on leadership roles, including to some extent preaching, although only the Quakers allowed routine preaching by women throughout the eighteenth century. In a well-known speech of 1755 to his followers, Wesley explained Methodist views. First, he carefully divided rubrics, laws of the Church confirmed by Parliament, from canons, laws established by the governors of the Church. Wesley's scepticism about the authority of the governors of the Church is revealed when he says: "whether the Canons are laws of the Church is doubtful, seeing it is a question whether they were ever confirmed by any competent authority."[13] Wesley splits hairs again when he describes the Methodist view of preaching. He states "we [Methodists] cannot believe that all who have authority to preach have authority to administer the sacraments."[14] He seems content to reserve for priests the administering of sacraments, while he comments that it is only people whom "we were convinced that God had appointed" who are allowed "to preach with us." These preachers appointed by God were not limited to priests. He continues: "it does not follow that we either did nor can appoint you to administer the sacraments"[15] In this way, Wesley minimized his responsibility for appointing preachers. He determined the administering of sacraments as the point at which his followers stopped, before they transgressed Church of England dictates, which prohibited the administering of sacraments by those not situated in the spiritual-hereditary line of Apostolic Succession. Finally, Wesley distinguished between priests and prophets, in a way that excused the promotion of people who had not been ordained, at the expense of those who had. He notes that while some "extraordinary prophets," (who had not been ordained) "were raised up in the Jewish church, "we read of no extraordinary priests."[16] By 1784, however, Wesley had changed his mind about his followers administering the sacraments. Having gained no support from the Church of England for his huge pastoral care ministry, he began to ordain his own priests for their work in America and Scotland.

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[12] Oxford History of the Christian Church: Religion in England 1688-1791), ed. Gordon Rupp (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 33.

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[13] Frank Baker, John Wesley and the Church of England (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970) 327.

[14] Baker, John Wesley, 332.

[15] Baker, John Wesley, 332.

Just as Wesley acknowledged extraordinary prophets of the ancient Church, he acknowledged too extraordinary women. His mother, Susanna Wesley, greatly influenced his ideas about the capabilities of women. She had met one evening per week with each of her children to discuss spiritual and moral issues. One result of Wesley's meetings with his mother was that he took his first communion at the age of nine, a full seven years before the usual age of sixteen. Her influence was also evident when Wesley established his

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[16] Baker, John Wesley, 332.

Methodist society, including small "band" prayer and discussion meetings, one evening per week for different groups of his followers. These meetings, which eventually took up every night of the week, were gendered, making women leaders inevitable. Susanna Wesley, influenced by Moravian doctrine, had also conducted large gatherings for family prayer for up to two hundred people, while her husband, who disapproved of her actions, was out of town.

Wesley's acceptance of women preachers developed over a number of years. He first appointed women "Deaconesses" in America, later carrying this practice back to England. These women were required to be over forty years of age. Their duties included preparing women and children for baptism, overseeing women in the church including correcting and punishing misbehaviour, leading prayer classes, administering to the sick, and eventually, preaching. Several examples illustrate Wesley's growing willingness to accept women preachers. In 1769 he allowed Sarah Crosby to "deliver short exhortations, but not a continued discourse based upon a text."[17] He stated in 1771 that he would accept, occasionally, a woman preacher, if she had an "extraordinary" call. In a letter to Mary Bosanquet of 13 June 1777 he states that she has had an "extraordinary call"[18] and he justifies his allowing her to preach by pointing out that even St. Paul made exceptions to his rule of not allowing women to speak to the congregation. And finally, in a 1787 document, Wesley gives Sarah Mallet official permission to preach.

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[17] Baker, John Wesley, 204.

[18] Baker, John Wesley, 204.

If we were to place the Church of England, its evangelical arm, and Methodism on a continuum, Church of England evangelicals, including Hannah More and William Wilberforce, would be located between the mainstream Church of England and the Methodists. For it is clear from the practices of the Methodist women described above, that some aspects of More's approach to religion resembled those of the Methodists. One noteworthy example is the annual "club" feasts at her schools, which included her own "charge." She refers to her charge as "a little sort of sermon."[19] While they were not officially-sanctioned sermons, More's charges were very much like preaching. Clearly, they were similar to the activities of Susanna Wesley and to the instances in which Methodist women were allowed, by Wesley, to preach.

Yet More's relationship to Methodism, while including some Methodist strategies for conducting evangelical work, was actually one of rivalry, centred around differing views of the monarchy. Church of England members, including More, believed in two forms of heredity: the monarchy and the episcopacy. Bishops of the Church sat in the House of Lords; this governing system made the Church and the Monarchy interdependent. British history had shown that the overthrow of one part of this system caused the downfall of the other, as happened in the seventeenth century, when the British monarchy was overthrown. One slogan for that event had been: "No Bishop, no King" (OED). Acutely aware of their history, Church of England members were particularly sensitive to the need for both a strong episcopacy and a strong monarch. More's fierce sense of patriotism was tied to these beliefs. She supported the government in its efforts to maintain the status quo, including continued war with France.

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[19] Martha More, Mendip Annals, 65.

Wesley, on the other hand, exhibited a tentative loyalty to the Monarch, and did not support with enthusiasm England's military commitments abroad. Wesley's views were in direct opposition to More's enthusiastic Royalism and her untiring support of the government who fought wars to protect it. For example, in his 1755 speech, mentioned above, Wesley affirms his allegiance to the King in a way which draws attention to the King's limited power. He says that he and his followers "willingly obey him" as their "supreme (visible) governor."[20] By pointing out the King's mortal domain, Wesley produces a somewhat hollow sound to his pledge of allegiance. Further, Wesley uses the logic that Methodists obey the King simply because he is the "supreme governor of the Church of England" and they are (at that time) members of the church. Wesley acknowledged only a perfunctory "obedience to a hereditary monarch."[21]

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[20] Baker, John Wesley, 331.

While More, like Wesley, believed that God is the ultimate authority, she also encouraged vigorous support for the King. In a letter to Mr. Addington, More writes: "All the poor whom I have instructed are loyal to a man, and I am calumniated by the Methodists for attaching so many to church and state" (see letter No. 3). She elaborates in a letter to Lord Chancellor Loughborough: "I have been assured that some of their [i.e. the Methodists'] preachers have inveighed against me by name in their sermons."[22] By embracing an evangelical approach to religion, while demanding loyalty to state institutions, More drew the fire of Methodists who viewed her as a royalist; she also antagonized some clergy of the Church of England who labelled her a Methodist, whether because of her evangelical practices, or because she was a woman practising religion within their domain.

Beliefs about the issue of women's agency exacerbated the theological conflict of the 1790s and caused problems for More. Cultural sensitivity to this issue had existed earlier in the eighteenth century, and had intensified when dissenting religious groups, in which women took an active part, became more prominent. For example, in 1763, when Boswell baited Samuel Johnson by proclaiming that he had attended a Quaker meeting at which a woman preached, Johnson responded with his now infamous, backhanded compliment: "Sir, a woman's preaching is like a dog walking on his hinder legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all."[23] Of course, the fact that Johnson subscribed to published "sermons" by women suggests it was not the intellectual content but the delivery he thought beyond them.

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[21] Oxford History, 33.

[22] William Roberts, Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Hannah More, 2 vols (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1836) I, 62-3.

The Bluestocking groups of intellectual men and women in England and the salons in France (which were similar) indicate that during the 1770s and 1780s prior to the French Revolution, some women were able to associate freely with their male counterparts of the professional ranks. The Bluestockings, for example, included Elizabeth Montagu, Elizabeth Carter, and the much younger Hannah More, along with male members. Women writers and artists were celebrated in such works as Richard Samuel's 1779 painting of the Nine Living Muses of Great Britain. But the French Revolution, with its bloody aftermath, caused England's leaders of Church and State to attempt to rein in freedoms, which might cause questioning of the social and political system in England. In the early 1790s, women writers, such as Mary

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[23] James Boswell, Life of Johnson, 1791, World's Classics, ed., R.W. Chapman, Introduction Pat Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 327.

Wollstonecraft, had called for women's "Rights." However, by the mid 1790s a label of Jacobinism began to be applied by upholders of the status quo to any group that questioned existing structures of power. Earlier freedoms of intellectualism, of travel, and of association that had existed in pre-revolutionary times were curtailed as part of England's attempt to stifle demands for rights from any disenfranchised group, including women.

More's evangelical beliefs and practices, in the late 1790s, along with her gender, led to her becoming a target for those people who disagreed with her politics, or with her methods of teaching literacy and religion. She engendered resentment, especially, from clergy of the established Church who were not accustomed to competing with an evangelical woman for the attention of their parishioners. For instance, More experienced some trouble because of her belief that the poor needed to be able to read the Bible in order to understand sermons at church, regardless of the fact that literacy would allow them access to seditious or non-pious materials as well (see letter No. 3). She explains her aim in a letter to Lord Loughborough: "My object is not to make fanatics, but to train up the lower classes in habits of industry and piety."[24] In letter No. 3 of this collection, More describes for Mr. Addington the circumstances of recent suspicions that she is "Methodistical."

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[24] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 66.

Disgruntled clergy of the established church often took issue with More's evangelical approach to religion and education. Theirs was an overcrowded profession, owing partly to the second sons of many upper-class English families seeking a profession in the Church. Often, family interests resulted in "absentee incumbents," that is in parishes where only poverty-stricken curates tried to see to the welfare of the parishioners; there were often accusations of "trafficking in tithes,"[25] which led to increased anxiety for ordained clergy. Competition in the form of bids by the Methodists for the hearts and souls of Church of England members and interventions by Church of England evangelicals contributed to the feeling of the conservative Anglican clergy that their status and respect were threatened.

More's evangelical successes and the circumstances described above set off much criticism. For example, in 1799, the Rev. Charles Daubeny published a letter accusing her of being "unscriptural."[26] in her most recent work, Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. Also in 1799, the year that Martha More's Mendip Annals stopped and the More-Addington correspondence began, a controversy about More's school in the village of Blagdon commenced when More was accused by a Rev. Bere, the local Church of England cleric who also happened to be a powerful magistrate, of hiring a schoolmaster who practised Methodism. The History of Somerset pinpoints the motive for Bere's accusation as "clerical jealousy."[27] He resented More's ability to attract large numbers of his parishioners to her Sunday evening meetings at the school. Mitzi Myers reports two possible motives for Bere, saying that he is either: "Jealous at the sisters' success where he had failed (their version) or suspicious of mischievous innovations, a 'new religion' (his version)."[28]

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[25] Oxford History, 495.

[26] Rev. Charles Daubeny, A Letter to Mrs. Hannah More: on some part of Her Late Publication Entitled "Strictures on Female Education (London: J. Hatchard, 1799) 58.

The public scandal created by the Blagdon controversy continued for over three years and was particularly vicious with regard to Hannah More, and even to her sisters. Personal attacks on all the sisters included a cartoon that was posted at the turnpike near Blagdon. The caricature depicts the More sisters as a menagerie of female savages who have used a poisoned dart to wound a black bear, Mr. Bere, "while he was guarding his young ones."[29] It is interesting to note the role reversals in this cartoon. While More and her sisters are typified as aggressive hunters, which is definitely not a compliment, Bere is depicted as a woman, a mother defending her young. If we accept the idea that he was probably jealous of More already, for her success in his male-dominated field, he would not have appreciated his being depicted as a woman, confined to the private domestic world of home and children. And I suspect that neither Bere nor the More sisters would have appreciated their being advertised as a "menagerie" in the cartoon. Henry Thompson cites the text on the cartoon, which includes the following:

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[27] The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Somerset (London: The University of London, 1969) 64.

[28] Mitzi Myers, "'A Peculiar Protection': Hannah More and the Cultural Politics of the Blagdon Controversy," History, Gender & Eighteenth-Century Literature, ed. Beth Fowkes Tobin (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994) 234.

[29] Thompson, The Life of Hannah More, 192.

> Just imported from Barbary, by Baron Munckhausen [Baron Descury], a large collection of strange beasts, which the Baron has had the honour of exhibiting before the Bishop of London, . . . and may be seen at any time of the day, . . . in a new-built caravan, at the sign of the Green Cowslip, in the parish of Wrington, at 13 1/2d. each. No money returned.[30]

Patricia Demers mentions "twenty-three tracts written for and against More"[31] during the Blagdon controversy. The Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalog lists more than a dozen of these publications about the scandal, including The Force of Contrast and Truths Respecting Mrs. Hannah More's meeting houses. More's friend the Rev. R. Cecil describes to her "The Contrast . . . which could not but fill me with indignation at the insolence and falsehood of a man of my order."[32] She closed and then reopened the school at Blagdon; she called on many of her political connections with highly-ranked church and government officials before the issue finally died down. By the end of the controversy More wrote to a friend: "Battered, hacked, scalped, tom-a-hawked as I have been for these three years, and continue to be, brought out every month as an object of scorn and abhorrence, I seem to have nothing to do in the world."[33]

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[30] Thompson, The Life of Hannah More, 192.

[31] Demers, The World of Hannah More, 106.

More's words above reflect the significant toll taken by the Blagdon controversy on her health; they might also account for a gap in the chronology of this collection of letters. After the first letter of 1799 to Mr. Addington (No. 3 here), the time at which the Blagdon controversy begins, there are no letters to the Addingtons until 1803, when the controversy had subsided. I discuss later, that while More's health was no doubt affected by this controversy, she was also busy producing literary works during the gaps in this collection.

More's Mendip schools as well as her evangelical, political and intellectual activities before 1800 provide important background to the first few letters of this collection. Let us examine now three major aspects of early nineteenth-century culture that are discussed in More's letters to Mr. Addington, written between 1799 and 1818: politics, including military activity; economics; and popular literature. These letters to Mr. Addington make up about half of this collection. Most prominent are More's discussions of and allusions to military and political events and people. Through expletives and emotion-charged hyperbole, she reveals the intensity with which she cares about the safety of England and the preservation of an orderly social hierarchy. She is outspoken and deliberately hyperbolic, for example, regarding news sent by Sir John from London, of various battles of the Napoleonic Wars, including the Peninsular War and Waterloo in 1815. Her huge network of political connections, including members of the peerage and dozens of politicians, is evident in a number of letters of 1812, an election year, and again in 1818 when her friends are running for political office. More's warmth of expression regarding several of her favourite politicians exposes her continuing close ties to people with political power.

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[32] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 80.

[33] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 82.

Economics also figure largely in More's letters to Mr. Addington. I mentioned earlier the calamine miners of the Mendip Hills. With John Addington, a neighbour, Mr. Perry, and four others, More set up a company to buy calamine in order to relieve the miners' severe economic distress in the post-war economy of 1816-17. Lower prices on the continent had forced the closure of some English brass companies, who had been buying calamine from the villagers. Changes to the methods of brass production and cheaper, although lower-quality calamine from Derbyshire also decreased the demand for calamine from the miners of the Mendip Hill villagers. More's "mercantile adventures" (letter No. 84), on behalf of the Mendip miners, reflect her concern for stabilizing her immediate social and political environment and makes clear that she was willing to become personally and financially involved in activities that helped to contribute to an orderly society. And while she was not an overt capitalist, who must be concerned, ultimately, with financial profit, she made use of a capitalist system to achieve her own political and social goals.

A most significant subject discussed with Mr. Addington in this collection is that of More's renewed involvement in the production and distribution of popular literature during 1816-17. She recreated a pamphlet production "shop" (letter No. 74) at Barley Wood, which was reminiscent of her Cheap Repository Tracts production of the mid 1790s. Twenty-five years earlier, in 1792, More had written her hugely popular tract, Village Politics, at the request of her friend Beilby Porteus, the Bishop of London. Subsequently, she produced, with other authors including her sisters, an additional one hundred and fourteen pamphlets from 1795 to 1798, writing over fifty pamphlets herself. These tracts were incredibly successful, if we measure success by the number of copies sold. They were thought, by leaders of the Church and state, to have discouraged seditious activities by the lower ranks, and by those who were attempting to bring about social and political change in England, following the French Revolution.

By 1816, strained political relations between social classes resulted from disastrous economic conditions, which followed the end of the war against Napoleon. Government spending was decreased, returning soldiers flooded the labour market, and European industries legislated tariffs on their imports, which decreased exports from Britain. These post-war economic conditions produced great hardship for people of the labouring classes throughout the country. The miners of calamine in the Mendip Hills, whose market was affected by the economy, are just one example of the effects of the post-war economy on the labouring classes. Exacerbating this situation was the continuous super-spending of the upper classes. The popular sea-spa at Brighton was in full swing, where wealthy aristocrats ate nine-course meals and enjoyed the excesses of the Prince Regent, who spent hugh sums of money on such items as chandeliers, which cost more than four thousand pounds.

Where in the 1790s a revolution was feared, by 1816 calls for revolution had been changed into calls for constitutional reform. The feelings of the lower orders were demonstrated by a number of violent incidents from unemployed, hungry people. For the ruling classes, such incidents would have evoked memories of the revolutionary movement, which had been feared some twenty years earlier. Adding to their sense of alarm were the activities of pro-reform writer and activist William Cobbett. He became extremely successful in agitating the lower ranks on behalf of reform in his Two-Penny Trash publications of 1816-17 (See letter No. 61). Concerned middle and upper-ranking officials reacted by marshalling their own stable of polemical writers, including Hannah More.

M. G. Jones states that "little is known of the tracts and songs contributed by Hannah More to the anti-Cobbett drive in 1817."[34] Jones mentions only five titles; her list is incomplete. Mitzi Myers provides an extensive list of sources for the London coverage of the anti-Cobbett campaign.[35] More's correspondence too provides more information about her efforts to influence masses of Britons once again through her writing. In a letter of 19 September 1817 More writes to the Misses Roberts: "last night arrived my ten songs (new and altered) for correction. They have all wooden cuts".[36] In the same year she writes to William Wilberforce: "Dire necessity, and the importunity of some great people, drove me to scribble about thirteen pieces . . . in about six weeks."[37] It is difficult to determine which of these letters was written first. In his *Memoirs*, Roberts places the letter to his daughters, which has no day or month noted, before More's letter to Wilberforce, dated 19 September 1817. With his chronology, Roberts implies that More had discussed her ten songs earlier in 1817 and she later mentioned the thirteen pieces to Wilberforce. The fact that More's letter to Wilberforce was written well after the anti-Cobbett campaign had ended suggests to me that More probably wrote thirteen pieces, of which perhaps only ten were published. Let us investigate further.

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[34] M.G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge: The University Press, 1952) 203.

[35] Mitzi Myers, "A Peculiar Protection", 251.

[36] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 226.

This collection provides some additional information about the extent of More's oeuvre but it also raises some questions. One of the most provocative bits of new information concerns the existence of a small book containing all of More's tracts that were written during 1816 to 1817 and published by Rivington. More writes to Mrs. Addington in 1819: "Rivington has sent for my permission to collect and publish together, the Tracts and ballads I wrote in the last two or three years . . . I desire your acceptance of the little volume" (letter No. 103). In her next letter she writes: I am glad you like my dear little Dialogues" (letter No. 104). This information is most intriguing, for the survival of this volume would clarify the exact number and the nature of More's anti-Cobbett contributions. At the time of writing I have not found an entry for this volume in the British Library Catalogue, or in the National Union Catalogue.

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[37] Roberts, *Memoirs*, II, 236.

Further information provided in this collection concerns copies of tracts that More mailed with two of her letters to Mr. Addington. First, she sent him a copy of her reworked Village Politics tract of 1792, turned from prose dialogue to verse (letter No. 65). She discusses with him her methods of revising and adapting the content of previously-published tracts to the new political and economic circumstances following the post-Napoleonic wars. She also reveals that he often acted as her editor, her postman and her conduit to booksellers and publishers. This reworked version of Village Politics was published in 1817 as The Village Disputants and was followed by several editions. The second tract included with More's letters to Mr. Addington is An Address to the meeting at Spa Fields (letter No. 76). But this tract seems not to have been published. Henry Thompson, in his Life of More, includes this tract as a sample of her tracts of 1817; we know that Thompson had access to the Addington letters when he prepared his biography of More. However, Thompson might have assumed that the tract had been published over twenty years earlier. Or, it might have appeared in Rivington's "little volume" which I have not yet found in standard reference sources.

The above information about More's tracts of 1816 to 1817 prompts several further questions. What were More's chances of success in combatting rhetorically, William Cobbett's hugely-successful pro-reform publication Two-Penny Trash? Why did these tracts not achieve the popularity or the perceived enduring effectiveness of her Cheap Repository Tracts? Were her tracts of this period written as well as her earlier tracts had been? First, by 1816 the days of the status quo were limited. An unstoppable march toward reform, owing to severe hardship, meant that change was inevitable. Neither More, nor any other writer could have prevented these changes. When she had undertaken the Cheap Repository Tracts project in the mid 1790s, she had been on the winning side of the counter-revolutionary movement, in which revolution was prevented. But this time reform would prevail, with or without rhetorical resistance. Literature which promoted stasis of the social and political environment was not at this time to prove effective. But in the short run, Cobbett was forced to flee England soon after More began writing her tracts of this period. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended at the urging of Lord Sidmouth's Home Department, which meant that Cobbett's arrest was immanent.

A third possible contributing factor to the lacklustre performance of More's post-war tracts is the nature of the rhetoric within them. More's comments in the letters of this collection show how strongly and genuinely she believed in the incalculable harm that Cobbett and reform could cause to the institutions to which she was so loyal. History shows that she was mistaken. But the tracts themselves suggest that she went about her defense of the status quo in ways that did not help her cause. For instance, in An Address to Spa Fields she attempts to align the current situation with the 1790s by comparing revolutionaries such as Thomas Paine with post-war, pro-reform activists. For the reading public, this strategy would have had the effect of More's comparing apples and oranges. Many people of the lower orders had been literate for twenty years. They would not have been placated by rhetoric that tried to convince them to "be patient awhile" (letter No. 76) when they were hungry, especially if they had just returned from fighting Napoleon on behalf of their country. Such tactics would not likely have convinced people who were in desperate straits to conform to social and political hierarchies within which they were disenfranchised.

In The Village Disputants too, More's rhetorical strategy is not one that would seem to discourage reform. This particular tract, although reprinted a number of times, must have been bought almost exclusively by members of the ruling classes. More's main theme is justification of the status quo, using references to Providential legitimation of the social structure, assurances that the ruling classes were fair minded and charitable, and claims that all Britons possessed "equal rights" and "equal freedoms." I doubt that More herself actually believed what she said in this tract. Her arguments in these tracts could not have succeeded in the face of starvation; they made claims that were contrary to the obvious and opulent lifestyle of many of the rich and famous, who frolicked at Brighton while their countrymen were starving. As Mitzi Myers notes, More's Cheap Repository Tracts had been "tracts for the times."[38] By 1816 times had changed.

The effort required by More to write again, on behalf of the professional ranks for England, was considerable. By 1816 she was in her seventies, more than twenty years older than she had been at the height of her Cheap Repository Tracts productivity. In the 1790s she had expended incredible amounts of energy on this huge, counter-revolutionary campaign. By late 1816, while she continued to write, to manage and visit her schools, to participate in Bible meetings, and to hold social gatherings (a range of activities that would tax a much younger woman), she no longer had the desire to undertake a large project. While she believed fervently in the anti-Cobbett cause, she was also aware of the tremendous energy that must accompany a project such as her Cheap Repository Tracts. She showed no signs of coordinating a team of other writers as she did in the 1790s.

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[38] Mitzi Myers, "Hannah More's Tracts for the Times," 264.

Perhaps there is a secondary reason for More's writing her "vulgar" works again. Behind her limited efforts to recreate this propaganda for the lower orders could also have been her desire to produce, for her own enjoyment, a type of literature that had given her writing career a huge boost in earlier times. She provides some ironic hints in her correspondence that she actually enjoys creating this type of writing for her own pleasure. For example, although she persisted in claiming that writing for the lower orders was distasteful to her, in 1817 she uses Pope's line, with gender substitution, to describe her renewed efforts at propaganda to more than one correspondent. She says: "the creature's at her dirty work again"[39] to the Misses Roberts and again to Mary Addington in this collection. Pope is speaking about a dunce, who like a spider spins it all out of his own bowels, but the dunce loves his work: Pope refers to "the slight, self-pleasing thread."[40] And while I doubt that More was ever ashamed of the work itself, she followed protocol by apologizing for enjoying it to young women of the middle ranks who were closest to her. These young women, however, were well-read and would certainly have understood More's irony.

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[39] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 225.

[40] Alexander Pope, Imitations of Horace, The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1961) IV, 92.

This collection of letters began when More was fifty-three and ended when she was almost eighty-three years of age. She often mentions the subject of her health in these letters and in her other correspondence. For instance, in 1798 More related to her friend Mrs. Kennicott, that a fainting episode "brought on by acute headaches"[41] resulted in her falling and bashing her face on a stone wall. More had suffered from migraine headaches since she was ten years old. In 1819, when she was seventy-four years of age, she is reported to have needed a double dose of laudanum to kill the pain in her head, on the evening before she was to receive a large number of guests for a Bible meeting and a reception afterward at Barley Wood. William Roberts reports that in spite of her being "very tired and stupid" from the drug she acted the perfect hostess throughout, retiring to her "sleepless couch"[42] later.

Migraine headaches were not the only ailment that plagued More. Yet the many health problems that she wrote about in her letters did not prevent her from living a surprisingly long and productive life. The juxtaposition of her health and her productivity brings out an interesting contradiction between More's continuous concern for her own health, as expressed repeatedly to the Addingtons, and the incredible energy and endurance she exhibits both physically and intellectually in her almost ninety years of life. Roy and Dorothy Porter provide insight into this contradiction. They explain that "the art of invalidism evolved through the Georgian era, and delicacy came into vogue . . . . "[43] More's letters to the Addingtons suggest that she might have used the "sick role"[44] to her advantage. While she regularly describes her poor health, including serious illnesses, she also makes perfunctory remarks about minor complaints that suggest she is complying with an expected cultural convention, rather than signalling a serious concern. She alludes more than once to her own demise as an afterthought and also in jest, after which she lives on for several decades.

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[41] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 18.

[42] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 269.

One example of 1810, when More was sixty-five years old, shows that More expects Mrs. Addington to know the difference between her conventional descriptions of delicacy and the actual state of her health. She writes: "I had two more teeth drawn as I passed through Bristol, which make fourteen in little more than a year. Alas!"[45] But later letters to Mrs. Addington in this collection indicate that she enjoyed a fairly unrestricted diet in spite of her dental deficiencies. There is the possibility that she might have had some false teeth. Sophisticated dentistry had been practised as early as the mid-seventeen thirties, when Lord Hervey is said to have appeared at court with "'the finest set of Egyptian pebble teeth'."[46]

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[43] Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, In Sickness and In Health: The British Experience 1650-1850 (New York: Basil Blackwell, Inc., 1989) 190.

[44] Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, In Sickness and In Health, 187.

Neither a serious accident nor extreme weather and travelling conditions significantly interfered with More's perpetual motion as she aged into her seventies. In late 1814, an accident, which could have been life-threatening, resulted in More's displaying to the Addingtons an attitude which was diametrically opposed to her apparent tendency to make heavy weather of her delicacy. Her three shawls and her gown caught fire while she was upstairs in her room at Barley Wood, recovering from a cough and a cold. One of the Miss Roberts, whom she mentioned often in this collection, rescued her and burned her own hands badly in the process. In letter No. 44 of this collection, More minimized to Mrs. Addington her own suffering while she expressed deep concern for Miss Roberts' health. In another instance shortly after John Addington's death in June, 1818, when More was seventythree years of age, she travelled on one very hot July day with Patty to visit two of her village schools, a total of twenty miles, in order to instruct four hundred children. These examples show that aside from migraine headaches, a number of serious illnesses, tooth-loss, and accidents, and in spite of her frequent mention of her delicate condition, Hannah More lived a productive and vigorous eighty-eight years. Perhaps she explains her health best when she writes "I am a most atmospherical animal, and rise and fall with the barometer."[47]

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[45] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 166.

[46] Robert Halsband, Lord Hervey: Eighteenth-Century Courtier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 188.

The fluctuating state of her health did not prevent More from completing successfully a number of important literary projects, during the course of her correspondence with the Addingtons. For instance, she was just finishing and preparing to publish her Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education when this collection began in 1798. From one of the gaps in the chronology of this collection, between 1803 and 1808, emerged her Hints Towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess, published in 1805 for nine-year old Princess Charlotte, heir to the throne. This led to a meeting with her grandmother, Queen Charlotte. In 1806, More became ill and did not completely recover until almost two years later. William Roberts makes much of the grave nature of this illness. Mary Waldron suggests that the Blagdon controversy contributed to it. In fact, this illness seems to account for part of this gap in the chronology of her letters to the Addingtons. However, we know that More wrote her only novel, Coelebs in Search of a Wife, during this time "to amuse the languor of disease."[48] How sick could she have been if she could produce these works during her illnesses? Surely the effort would have proven too much for her if she were as delicate as Roberts claims, or as mentally stressed as Waldron suggests. The novel was published in 1808 to great acclaim by her supporters, translated into French and German, and predictably, drew accusations that she had "a design to overturn the church."[49] from her persecutors. Other significant works from the period of this collection include her An Essay on the Character and Practical Writings of Saint Paul, written and published in 1815, the year of her letters to Mr. Addington about the fall of Napoleon. As well, More wrote, revised, and published her polemical tracts for the anti-Cobbett campaign of 1816-17, discussing in detail their design and distribution with Mr. Addington. Finally, she published the last of her four works on religion, The Spirit of Prayer, in 1825 when she was eighty years old, and she wrote a poem called Lines for a local charity bazaar in 1827, the year in which her letters to the Addingtons ceased. It is difficult not to suspect that at least once or twice she exploited her ill health, and eighteenth-century convention regarding delicacy, in order to gain private time to write. Perhaps her writing provided her with relief from difficult circumstances such as her real health problems and the declining health and death of her sisters.

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[47] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 314.

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[48] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 161.

[49] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 161.

The epistolary form of writing (in her letters to the Addingtons) exposes More's personal character and obscures the public persona of the Hannah More with which many scholars are familiar. While reading these personal letters to her friends and neighbours, the Addingtons, it is easy to forget the magnitude of More's influence and notoriety and the unrelenting didacticism of her Cheap Repository Tracts, her novel, Coelebs, and her Strictures. She did not preach to the Addingtons - - even to Miss Addington. Rather, the tone of many of these letters ranges from mildly humorous to wildly effusive. She is sardonic, ironic, and affectionate; she makes some use of metaphor and analogy.

More's letters reflect epistolary practices of her day, as well as her own beliefs. For example, she adhered to Pope's views, as he expressed them to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in 1716 that letters should be "the real thought of that hour . . . Thinking aloud (as somebody calls it) or Talking upon paper."[50] More's letters too look as familiar as a transcription from life. She expressed her beliefs about what letters should be, stating:

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[50] Alexander Pope, The Correspondence of Alexander Pope, ed., George Sherburn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956) 353.

> I would not give much for what is called a fine letter, even from those who are most gifted in writing; . . . . What I want in a letter, is to know what my friend is doing, or thinking, or saying.[51]

More believed that fine letters did not "get at the heart and mind of the writer."[52] It is clear that More did not aim to produce the "exquisite epistolarity"[53] of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Embassy Letters' from Turkey. However, the "tenacious stoicism"[54] attributed to Lady Mary by Bruce Redford, could be applied to More's efforts to "discipline sorrow" in her accounts to the Addingtons of the deaths of her four sisters. More did not approach letter-writing (or perhaps any of her writings) as an exercise in skills but as a pragmatic way to communicate. She would therefore never aim at the chameleon-like "masques"[55] of her long-time correspondent Horace Walpole. Instead, she aimed to relate to her close friends what she was "doing, thinking, and saying," using language that stimulated their interest. She went so far as to excuse herself for self-absorption when she wrote to Mr. Knox in June of 1816. She stated: "This letter of mine appears to be full of self. But if ever egotism is pardonable, I think it is in letters between friends."[56] More's egotism is easily forgiven by readers who enjoy the playful style, small jokes and hyperbolic enthusiasm of her epistolary style in this collection.

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[51] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 184.

[52] Roberts, Memoirs, II 184.

[53] Isobel Grundy, ed., Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Selected Letters (London: Penguin Books, 1997) xx.

[54] Bruce Redford, The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986) 14.

[55] Redford, The Converse of the Pen, 93.

Mrs. Addington received almost half of the one hundred and twenty-two letters of this collection; Mary Addington received fifteen letters. Like her letters to Mr. Addington, More's letters to the Addington women reflect a bantering, intimate tone. But their subject matter is gendered, which results in their seeming even more like oral communication, or "talking upon paper." For instance, letters to Mr. Addington centre on broad political events, domestic and foreign. Letters to Mrs. Addington address as well, the personalities of the people who create the political events, or the literary works. Issues of quotidian domesticity are very often discussed with the Addington women, but not with Mr. Addington. Their focus on the details of daily life, including some, but not excessive gossip, result in the letters to the Addington women touching the reader in a more intimate way than do those to Mr. Addington. In his letters we hear about issues regarding the state of the nation, while in Mrs. Addington's letters we learn what certain cultural leaders had for dinner, while they discussed the state of the nation, and which neighbour supplied the food. Combined, these letters to the Addingtons provide, in one package, a complete perspective of the personal side of Hannah More as she talks on paper to her close, but well-connected friends, from both masculine and feminine perspectives.

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[56] Roberts, Memoirs, II, 219.

As More moved easily back and forth between feminine and masculine topics, she gave equal status to both genders. She displayed no condescension in her letters to the Addington women. Mrs. Addington was expected to respond with comments on current national and international political affairs; she was also asked to edit some of More's works. Miss Addington was expected to respond to More's questions about contemporary art, literature, and the theatre. These women had the added advantage of enjoying, with More, personal anecdotes about world leaders and renowned literary figures. They shared a broad understanding of their society, through their connection with the humanity of even the greatest of cultural leaders, as it is revealed by an appropriate amount of quotidian domestic detail. Gifts of food, shared recipes, social events and the servants' activities, if not as important, are represented as just as interesting as weighty political or economic concerns.

While it might be obvious to compare More's letters with those of her contemporaries, it is perhaps more interesting to note what they have in common with letters of women far removed from her in time. This is not to erase historical difference, but to suggest a certain historical or cultural continuity and similarity of class and gender situations.

Among female epistolarians whose letters bear some resemblance to More's are Agnes Paston, and Virginia Woolf. Paston's thirteen letters, copied out for her by more than one clerk, are part of the mid-fifteenth-century Paston Letters.[57] These letters were believed to be, by More's friend Horace Walpole, the oldest surviving English letters. Both Paston and More were mature, feisty, politically-aware businesswomen at the time of writing; both were writing to much younger men. Paston's husband, who died shortly before she wrote her letters, had been a prominent lawyer and counsellor to Kings Henry IV and V, which resulted in Paston's being politically connected to her culture's ruling classes, as More was to hers. Paston managed a large estate with a number of tenants and fought off a claim to her estate by a friar. More supervised her school staff while she managed her own publishing career and fought off persecutors such as the Blagdon cleric, Mr. Bere. Paston consulted with her grown sons about legal and property issues; More discussed, with Mr. Addington, marketing strategies, financial investments and copyright issues. Both female epistolarians were bound by affection to younger men. For example, Paston's moving comment to her favourite and youngest son, Edmund, "God make yow ry3ht [sic] a good man,"[58] reflects sentiment similar to More's when she proclaims her love for young Henry Unwin Addington, John Addington's son.

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[57] Paston Letters & Papers of the Fifteenth Century, ed. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

This collection of More's letters also evokes, in a limited way, a comparison to a much later female epistolarian, Virginia Woolf. Like More, Woolf also believed that letters should reflect the thoughts of the writer's mind - - how one feels, not simply observations of the world. While immense differences separate these two women, a few (perhaps unexpected) similarities are revealed in their letters. First, both writers employ certain techniques of language for the amusement of their readers. For example, Woolf signs some letters with ironic names of self-diminishment when she is writing to relatives or close friends. She indicates self-mockery, for example, when she signs her letters to her brother: "Goat" or "Goatus."[59] More practices a similar technique in letter No. 49, of 1816, to Mr. Addington when she is in the process of producing anti-seditious tracts. She assumes the persona of a literary hack, beginning with the inside address: "Doggerel Garret/in Grub Street;" she ends with the signature, "An Old Ballad Monger." Although More would likely have taken great offense to someone else calling her a monger (dealer), in this case she makes fun of her position for the amusement of her friend. She uses this technique as a way of preserving the sense of intimacy that she has developed in her relationship with John Addington. She probably anticipates a reaction from him in his return correspondence. We will see below that Woolf applies other techniques as well to deepen the intimacy of her letters.

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[58] Paston Letters, 27.

[59] Virginia Woolf, The Letters of Virginia Woolf, 6 vols., ed., Nigel Nicolson (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-80) I, 67, 88.

Second, both More and Woolf were comfortable discussing in letters certain masculine topics relating to the production, packaging, pricing and distribution of literary works. Where More discusses these commercial subjects mostly with Mr. Addington, and sometimes with Mrs. Addington, Woolf addresses the commercial aspects of her works, as well as other works relating to the Hogarth Press, with both male and female correspondents. For example, More asks both Mr. and Mrs. Addington to look over her works on their way to the printer and to help with the distribution of her tracts. Woolf consults with Vanessa Bell, her sister, about the content and pricing of some Hogarth Press publications, including Woolf's own works. More advises Mr. Addington about ways to increase the sales of her polemical tracts. Woolf describes to Vanessa her own visit to "Bain the bookseller" where she "went with a bag of our books."[60] Each of these female epistolarians seems at ease in the world of commerce. Yet neither of them writes the kind of stiff, formal letters that were typical of commercial (masculine) correspondence. Each of these women carries her whole private personality with her into the world of business.

Third, we have seen above, that More discusses feminine topics of quotidian domesticity, such as food and gossip, in her letters to the Addington women. Woolf too discusses these topics, but two significant differences are evident: Woolf's approach to domestic subject matter is different from More's; the amount and depth of gossip in Woolf's letters is greater. Woolf is clearly self-conscious about domestic subject matter. Two letters to her sister, Vanessa Bell, of 3 July, 1917 and 22 January 1919 illustrate this point. In the first letter she says: "This must be a dull, domestic letter. First, a million thanks for the potatoes and greens."[61] The second letter begins with a centred title: "Domestic affairs" followed by a detailed discussion of the parlour maid.

Let us consider a possible explanation for Woolf's using this approach to domestic subjects and compare it with More's treatment of domesticity. By alerting Vanessa to the fact that domestic topics are about to be discussed, Woolf gives the impression that she is apologizing for sliding into the domestic realm. However, her feigned lack of interest is betrayed by her use of hyperbole and by the minutiae of the gossip she communicates. She describes who said or did what to whom in great detail, obviously enjoying the small events and communications of daily life and enjoying giving them an air of disproportionate importance. She describes the vagaries of people in a novelistic way that is not present in More's letters.

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[60] Woolf, Letters, II, 378.

[61] Woolf, Letters, II, 160.

On the other hand, More's letters contain no forewarnings about or feigned lack of interest in quotidian details. She moves seamlessly between weighty cultural issues and news about daily life, giving equal importance to both. For example, she effuses comically to Mrs. Addington: "A thousand thanks for the whitest and most beautiful pig that ever was seen - - we have all been called to admire its fair form" (letter No. 12). She immediately follows these remarks with a reference to complex parliamentary posturing that was taking place after a recent assassination.

The effect of these different methodologies regarding quotidian domesticity is that Woolf's letters are more intimate than are More's. Earlier, I pointed out that More's letters to Mr. Addington are less like talking on paper than her letters to the Addington women, which contain much more domestic detail. Woolf's letters go beyond More's in their ability to draw the reader into the daily lives of the correspondents and of the people in their lives, in spite of Woolf's intimations to the contrary.

Immense differences between their attitudes about war and the political system that fosters war, including the monarchy, widen the gap between More and Woolf. We can uncover some of these differences if we compare More's letters of this collection, which span the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century, to Woolf's letters written during the First World War of 1914-18. While both women suffered from food scarcities, a number of circumstances contribute to their great dissimilarity on these topics. First, More was much older than Woolf when she experienced war. Neither she, nor her close friends or relatives was directly involved in combat during the Napoleonic wars. As a supporter of the government and the monarch who carried out the wars, More had offered to donate Barley Wood for military use in 1803. While her offer was declined, this gesture illustrates her intense patriotism. Second, More was removed, by class and gender, from the actual fighting, which was carried out mostly by the lower orders of British society on foreign soil. I suspect, though, that she would have felt vicariously, the losses suffered by families in the mining villages, with whom she was connected through her schools. I mentioned earlier, too, that More remarked to Mr. Addington in letter No. 3 of this collection: "all the poor whom I have instructed were loyal to a man." Linda Colley refers to More as "the impeccably Tory Hannah More."[62]

Unlike More, Woolf was, during the First World War, a young woman. She suffered the deaths of four relatives and saw her friends wounded in a war that was fought both at home and abroad. Hannah More was never subjected to waiting in the cellar while bombs were being dropped overhead, as Woolf's letters tell us she was. Woolf was closely associated with anti-war activists, especially her husband, Leonard, and Vanessa's husband, Clive Bell, who wrote anti-war propaganda. In Three Guineas, Woolf also protested war, going so far as to condemn men in general for creating and perpetuating it. In one letter written to her sister in 1917, Woolf warns Vanessa: "excessive masculinity has to be guarded against . . . young men do seem to me so selfish and assertive."[63] In a letter of 1915, Woolf describes a concert, at which "the patriotic sentiment was so revolting that [she] was nearly sick."[64] Compare this with Hannah More's promotion of the song "God Save the King" in her Mendip schools. More constructs a kind of nation-wide community when she enacts in letters to the Addingtons a national rejoicing at victory, battle by battle, as she learns of them from government gazettes, the Gentleman's Magazine and her politically-connected friends. She voices the intense pain that comes with defeat. Woolf, on the other hand, is so disillusioned by war and its effects that she restricts herself to her own community made up of those who reject patriotism.

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[62] Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (London: Pimlico, 1994) 154.

[63] Woolf, Letters, II, 195.

[64] Woolf, Letters, II, 57.

The discovery of this cache of More's unpublished letters has increased her extant oeuvre and illuminated for modern scholars the nature of her personal relationships with one neighbouring, well-connected, family, her fierce patriotism, her commitment to literacy and religion, and her easy, bantering voice that is not always evident in others of her published works and letters. Evident from this collection as well is the relationship of More's letters to those of some other female epistolarians, from the fifteenth-century letters of Agnes Paston, to the twentieth-century letters of Virginia Woolf.

We are now able to place these letters alongside the collection of More's letters held by the Clark Library, to see that More's epistolary voice, and her gendered subject matter, are consistent in her letters to women and men. For example, a letter of 13 December 1809, to Sir William Pepys, covers masculine topics similar to those in her letters to Mr. Addington. She discusses commercial revenue in England, imports and exports, and new docks and warehouses. She writes to Mrs. Kennicott in 1810 about both masculine and feminine topics, moving comfortably from her discussion about the costs of printing, to telling Mrs. Kennicott how "vexed" she is to learn that a work of Charlotte Smith's as well as an edition of Mrs. Montagu's letters were being sold for more than the price she could command for her novel, Coelebs.

As shown above, the letters of this collection corroborate some characteristics of More as a correspondent that are able to be seen in the Clark Library collection. But they also illustrate that Mitzi Myers has it right when she calls William Roberts "ham-fisted"[65] in his editing of the Clark collection. More's complete personality does not emerge from his Memoirs of her; her sense of humour, playful language and delight in her own ability to amuse her friends are missing. I suspect that she is submerged by way of scissors, and it is too early to know for sure if he might also have applied paste to the letters of the Clark collection. He tends to focus on the maudlin, such as More's accounts of her sisters' deaths; he grasps at any serious religious references or commentary, all of which gives the impression that More was a humourless, stiff, overly-religious old maid. Only a new edition of the letters of the Clark collection would reveal the extent to which Roberts exercised his editorial license.

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[65] Mitzi Myers, rev. of The World of Hannah More, by Patricia Demers, Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature 16 Fall 1997: 398.

While a thorough examination of the Clark Library collection will reveal how much quotidian detail and how much of More's personality might have been left out of William Roberts' Memoirs, we could also consider the idea that More might have reserved her most intimate "talking upon paper" for only her most intimate friends. Perhaps the Addingtons were the only recipients of More's letters to benefit from a very familiar relationship in which cajoling as well as blunt honesty were equally acceptable. These letters suggest that More's sisters were not her only "family."

In her own day More was a highly-influential cultural ideologue, whose public persona stimulated awe from some of her contemporaries, and scorn from others. Maria Edgeworth writes to a friend in 1810:

> Mrs. Clifford tells me that Mrs. Hannah More was lately at Dawlish, and excited more curiosity there, and engrossed more attention, than any of the distinguished personages who were there, not excepting the Prince of Orange.[66]

Edgeworth's letter illustrates the awe with which some of More's contemporaries viewed her. More's lasting influence is reflected by the attention she receives from the editors of the Victoria History of Somerset. Not one Addington, not even John Addington's brother, Lord Sidmouth, appears in this exhaustive chronicle. Yet More is written up, complete with mentions of her schools, and her troubles with Mr. Bere. Not all attention paid to More in her day was awe-inspiring. Mary Russell Mitford took offense to More's public persona, saying that she was "masculine not in a good sense, but a bad one; she writes like a man in petticoats, or a woman in breeches" and that "all her books have a loud voice, a stern frown, and a long stride."[67]

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[66] Maria Edgeworth, The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, ed. Augustus J.C. Hare (London: Edward Arnold, 1894) 170.

In spite of the views of some of More's contemporaries and those of some modern scholars, who have typecast Hannah More by way of her public persona, the curiosity and attention directed toward her has not yet been extinguished. Because of her great influence, modern scholars have begun to re-examine Hannah More and her works. Mitzi Myers points out that she was "a top contender for the most widely read, most influential female writer of her day."[68] Yet scholars so far have had to consider mainly the public persona of More; they have not had available these intimate letters written to the Addingtons, from which they could sketch a more complete perspective of this influential woman. The More-Addington letters of this thesis provide new insight into the private Hannah More and how she lived her life. In this collection, we see a Hannah More who describes with great enthusiasm a lively exchange of exclamations and a flurry of activity as she and her sisters hurry to excise

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[67] Mitzi Myers, "A Peculiar Protection", 227.

[68] Mitzi Myers, "A Peculiar Protection," 229.

Napoleon from their books following his overthrow at Paris in 1814. In this collection, we see a Hannah More who is relaxed and informal when she writes to Mr. Addington: "My hair stood on end . . . and has hardly recovered its natural position." I have not found this kind of animated description or exaggerated expression in More's published letters. Nor is this the type of language with which modern scholars associate the Hannah More they have come to know through her public persona or her published works. This thesis takes a first step toward a fuller understanding of the woman whose "long stride" through the romantic period has left indelible footprints that we will continue to discover.

TEXTUAL PRACTICES

In my presentation of this collection of More's previously unpublished letters, my aim has been to create as little editorial interference as possible. I have not acted as either a moral or a verbal censor, and there have been no "changes wrought by scissors and paste."[69] Rather, I have provided here a printed copy of More's manuscript letters, which is as close as modern technology allows to her original letters. A sample of More's own handwriting, formatting and emendations can be seen in Appendix A of this thesis. Though her writing is sometimes hard to read, it offers few insoluble problems.

My editorial interference amounts to choices I have made about how to arrange the letters, how to indicate to readers which information I have supplied, and how to present the letters so that modern readers will find them clear and easy to read. First, I have chosen to arrange the letters in chronological order, rather than grouping them by correspondent. I have assigned to each letter a number, beginning with No. 1 and ending with No. 118. Four letters, for which I have been unable to estimate a date of writing, appear at the end of the numbered letters. These undated letters have been given numbers too, but their numbers

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[69] Joyce Hemlow, "Letters and Journals of Fanny Burney: Establishing the Text," Smith, D.I.B. Editing Eighteenth-Century Texts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) 37.

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appear in capital letters, beginning with ONE and ending with FOUR.

Other editorial practices pertain to letters for which I have supplied information. First, where I have been able to determine, from their content, full or partial dates for some letters, I have inserted them into the chronology of the collection. Second, throughout the collection, square brackets indicate that I have supplied the information enclosed within them. For instance, where I have been able to determine the year of writing, I have added it, enclosed in square brackets, at the top of the letter. Where I have filled in hard-to-read or obscured letters or words written by More, I have enclosed them in wavy brackets.

Each letter begins on a new page. I have inserted the name of the recipient followed by the date of the letter (in square brackets if not dated by More). A description of the letter follows, including endorsements made by Mary Addington, which consist most often of "Mrs. H. More" and a repetition of the date written. In cases where More addresses the letter, I have reprinted her exact words. They sometimes reveal that letters were sent to John Addington from More's Barley Wood home to Whitehall Square in London. Postmarks and the postal district are mentioned in the description when they appear on the manuscript letters. I have printed an exact representation of More's multiple-line closings, which often contain four or more separate lines.

Punctuation has been altered in a few particular cases. Where the final sentence in a letter appears without a period, I have added one. Where separate sentences are divided only by a comma or not at all, I have changed the separating comma, if there was one, and I have capitalized the first letter of the first word in the second clause, in order to allow for easier comprehension. In cases where More omits apostrophes, such as in the word, "dont," I have not interfered. I have, however, added closing quotation marks to match opening ones where appropriate in a few spots.

Eighteenth-century spelling conventions as well as spelling mistakes are maintained in the printed copy of these letters. For example, compound words separated by a space have been left alone. The word "enclosed" appears as "inclosed"; "Magasine" and "faithfull" appear as More writes them. Many nouns appear capitalized in mid-sentence, [illegible] a standard practice in her day.

The issue of words or phrases raised above the line of writing is one that I have chosen to address with contemporary editorial practices. In instances where More has added words or phrases between lines, I have lowered them; I have indicated which words are raised in the manuscript letters by placing the symbol "^" before and after the raised word or words. I have applied the same technique to closings and titles, in which part of the word is raised. In these cases too, I have lowered the raised letters and added the symbol "^" before and after them. For example, the word "Yours" appears in the printed copy as "Y^rs^" to show that More abbreviates the word and also raises the last two letters. I have normalized and modernized the much repeated titles of Mr. and Mrs. for ease of reading, even though More raises the "rs" in Mrs. as was customary in her day.

Abbreviations, both More's and my own, were handled as follows. More's abbreviations, such as "tho" for though, and "Rowb." for Rowberrow appear as she writes them. I have abbreviated reference works, such as the Dictionary of National Biography (DNB), the National Union Catalogue (NUC) and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Standard facts taken from the DNB and other reference texts do not appear in the footnotes with quotation marks, but have been rephrased instead.

Mary Waldron points out that "More quotes from memory, and is often inaccurate to the point of paraphrase."[70] I mention in the Introduction to this collection that More intentionally borrows quotations in order to adapt them for her own purpose of amusing the recipients of her letters. Where More does take liberties with a quotation, I have added a footnote which gives the exact quotation and the author's name.

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[70] Hannah More, Coelebs in Search of a Wife: Comprehending Observation on Domestic Habits and Manners, Religion and Morals 1808. Rpt. ed. Mary Waldron (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1995) xxxi.

In footnotes to the letters of this collection, I have supplied sufficient information to allow readers to identify, in the "Works Used" bibliographic document at the end of this thesis, any works mentioned. Footnotes also include enhancements to More's brief mention of or allusions to certain literary works, political events, people and places. They elaborate too on common themes within sequential letters and they point the reader to connections between letters in other parts of this collection.

1. From Mary Addington to "my poor brother"[1] [Spring 1798]

Endorsement: "written 75 yrs ago to my poor brother at Mr. More's school[2] at Sunbury.[3] All look'd over May 1873/ M.A. 1873/ all these to be destroy'd." Child's writing on lined paper [she would have been six or seven].

Dear Brother

We like Langford Court[4] very much there is a very large Garden with a large Hothouse & greenhouse in it. We went to see a Cave in Stockton[5] & there were a great many bones of Animals which were very curious. We take a great many pretty walks in the Fields which are full of Primroses and Cowslips. We got to Bath at eight oclock the day we set off and to Langford Court the next day. Papa[6] went to London on sunday. there is a nice long walk of horse chesnut trees in the Garden which we can walk under in hot weather & a Rookery just before the House which is very noisy. I found some eggs under the trees they are speckled and very pretty. there are a great many Pinks and Roses in the Hot House and they are in blossom. We took a nice walk up by Mr. Whalleys[7] Cottage & you can't think what a beautiful stream runs down the side of the Hill, & makes three pretty Cascades. Mama and Brother[8] desire their love to you. I am, Dear Brother

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[1] Probably, Haviland John Addington born 20 Nov. 1787, three years before Henry Unwin. Haviland was the heir and yet there seems to be very little information about him. "Poor" might indicate that he was sickly, or met with some disaster or disgrace. See Introduction.

[2] I have investigated the possibility of a connection between this Mr. More and Hannah More. Hannah's father, Jacob, had been the headmaster of a school at Fishponds, three miles from Bristol. However, he died in 1783 at the age of eighty-three, so it is unlikely that he is the Mr. More of this letter.

[3] The only parish called Sunbury in the Topographical Dictionary of England is in the county of Middlesex, fifteen miles southwest of London. Either Mary's brother attended a school there, or at a Sunbury not listed in this Dictionary.

[4] Residence of John Addington and his family in the vale of Wrington, Somerset, newly rented. It is probably named for its location since the village of "Langeford" appears at this spot in the Domesday Survey of 1086. Former residents of Langford Court include the novelist Susannah (Minifie) Gunning, who lived there from 1784-1788. More and her sisters had been living in this district since 1785 when they moved to Cowslip Green near the village of Blagdon.

[5] Young Mary most likely means a parish in the county of Wilts. A roman road runs through the south end of the parish; there are British and Roman earthworks where she may have seen barrows or other repositories of ancient bones.

Your Affect. Sister

M. Addington

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[6] John Hiley Addington. He is called Hiley in Philip Ziegler's Addington, in the House of Commons, and in the Dictionary of National Biography. Nevertheless, in this collection I follow the lead of Hannah More who addresses her letters to Sir John Addington.

[7] The Reverend Thomas Sedgwick Whalley owned Mendip Lodge, which was visible from More's Cowslip Green home. He and More were close friends; he replaced Sir Abraham Elton as More's defender in the Blagdon controversy (M. Myers, "A Peculiar Protection," 1994, 233). More lived the final few years of her life in another of Whalley's homes, at Clifton, where she died in 1833.

[8] Henry Unwin Addington, three years younger than Haviland.

2. From Mr. Addington to Hannah More 18 September 1799

This letter enclosed in a bundle labelled Mrs. Hannah More [60 letters & notes]. It is written on a single piece of paper, folio size and shape.

Colchester Sept. 18th 1799

My dear Madam,

I have been so much surprised and disturbed (more indeed than I can well express) by the Report of a Conversation that pass'd a few Days ago between you and Mrs. H. Addington,[9] that I cannot help taking the Liberty of troubling you with a Letter upon the Subject. It seems that some Person has informed You, that I had express'd myself dissatisfied with the whole of the Day that I had pass'd at Shipham;[10] and in Terms of Disgust at the Sermon that I had heard there. The latter of these Reports is a violent Exaggeration; the former a shameful Untruth, and one to which I am certain it is impossible that you can give any Credit.

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[9] John Addington's sister-in law, wife of his brother, Henry.

[10] Shipham and Rowberrow were mining villages located at the top of the Mendip Hills. In 1790 More opened the second of her series of schools at Shipham. Addington must have attended a church service which was part of the annual anniversary feast held at the school (See Introduction). These two villages figure prominently in later letters of this collection when More becomes involved in the miners' desperate economic situation.

Before I left Shipham, I recollect to have express'd to Miss M. More[11] the great Satisfaction that I had felt at the Meeting, which I have since repeated in much stronger Terms to many of our Neighbours. Setting aside the Interest which the whole scene could not fail to excite, the Institution[12] appears to me admirably adapted to the State of Circumstances of that Parish, and is one to which, if I am prevented from attending the Annual Meeting, I hope I shall be always allowed to subscribe. This mistatement of my Sentiments, I am at a loss to account for unless from some Person's having chosen to apply my objections to an Institution of a similar Nature recently established in our Neighbourhood to that at Shipham and to all others. On this Subject you will permit me to express myself explicitly and Confidentially.

Female Clubs[13] appear to me to be positively bad, unless they are positively good; that is unless they are absolutely wanted. In Shipham there is not an Individual that I know of who has the mean[s] or disposition to afford Relief to the suffering Female, whether reduced to Indigence by sickness, by a numerous Family, or by the Infirmities of Age. In Shipham there there [sic] is no Friendly Society of Men, whose beneficial Effects must necessarily extend to their female relatives whether Mother, Wife, Sister or Daughter. In Shipham therefore that may be of infinite use, which in Wrington[14] might not be wanted; indeed I could mention several other Reasons, why I think a material distinction ought to be made. -- On this Subject I very much wish that I had had an Opportunity of conversing ^with^ you before I left Langf.d Court: -- and which I still hope to have between this and Christmas.

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[11] Martha "Patty" More was the youngest of the five More sisters. She wrote an account of More's schools in the Mendip Annals.

[12] The school at Shipham.

[13] More collected small fees from the women of poor villages in order to pay for their care during sickness or lying-in, or to bury them. More paid the fees for those women who could not afford to pay.

Of the Sermon that was preach'd at Shipham I certainly have express'd an Opinion, but never without being asked, and not to more, as far as I can recollect, than two Persons, excepting at Cowslip Green[15] -- On Mrs. Mores mentioning it, I took the Liberty of saying that I did not exactly assent to two or three Parts of it, which struck me, as objectionable; nor am I aware that I have express'd

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[14] The town of Wrington, birthplace of John Locke, was the site of the nearest post office to Barley Wood and Langford Court. After 1784, rural post offices such as the one at Wrington were serviced by mail coaches that were dispatched from a central post office in London. These letters indicate that More sent her local mail by servant; she frequently sent mail to Sir John in London as well, where he placed it in the two-penny post, a mail delivery service for London only.

[15] A single storey, thatched-roof home with a southern exposure and pleasing views. The More sisters alternated between Bath in the winters and Cowslip Green in the summers during the years from 1785 to 1801 when they moved to Barley Wood, also in the district of Wrington.

Myself to any one in any other Terms of it. -- It is no more than I have said since my Arrival here of a Sermon that I heard on Sunday last from a respectable Clergyman of this Place, and not so much as I have formerly express'd of some of the Discourses preached by an intimate and lamented Friend of mine, the late Mr. Cadogan of Reading. If I thought it possible that the Opinion of an insignificant Individual, or even the Misrepresentation or Exaggeration of it, could have produced the Effect which I have been given to understand has been attributed to it, it would affect me no less sensibly than to make me ^almost^ lament that I had ever settled in that part of Somerset's [sic]. Of Mr. Drewit's[16] private Character I never heard anything that was not good; and I think it a Misfortune to differ from him on points which He must of course have studied much more closely than I can have done. The Opinion that I have was not meant to go beyond the Person to whom it was given; and has ^been^ very improperly reported at all. Probably it has come to you doubly exaggerated. I am the more inclined to suspect this, not being able to believe that Mr. W. --[17]

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[16] Thomas Drewitt was clergyman at Cheddar where More established her first school. Drewitt encouraged his parishioners to attend the school because it drew them to church as well. Drewitt supported More in the Blagdon controversy which was just beginning to brew in 1799 at the time of this letter. At the time of Drewitt's death in 1803, More writes in her diary that she pays her "last sad duty to Drewitt" when she attends his funeral (Roberts II, 114).

[17] Not likely Mr. Whalley since his beliefs were similar to those of More.

can have held such Language about the Chaplaincy, on which Subject not one single Word ever passed between us. -- If it had, it is immaterial to state what my Answer would have been.

I ought not, my dear Madam, to be surprised that Opinions of mine are exaggerated, or invented for me, when I find that a Wish to disseminate Republican Principles[18] is attributed to Mrs. H. M. This, I confess, excited my Indignation, which was however soon succeeded by a Sentiment of a different description. I know that you are above both. With respect to myself more than one Lesson will be taught me by the unpleasant Circumstances which have occasioned my troubling you with [smudged word] long a Letter. The length of it will at least prove my Anxiety to stand favorably in your Opinion; an Anxiety which I cannot but feel, whilst I remain with true Esteem and Respect, dear Madam,

Your very faithful Serv^t^

J.H.A.

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[18] Those of the rebellious French, or the independent Americans, or of British radicals such as Thomas Paine, who promoted equal rights for all men regardless of social rank. Teaching the poor to read often brought accusations against More of holding Republican ideas because it was believed that seditious literature such as Paine's would encourage rebellion.

3. To Mr. Addington[19] 23 September 1799

Three page letter, outside endorsed with Hannah More's name, date. No address. Paper tattered. The last page of this letter was not stored with the first two. Matching them provided the date and the correlation between these two documents.

My dear Sir

I am truly vexed that the trumpery[20] story which I told Mrs. Addington should have given you one moment's concern. I told it her under a thorough and implicit impression of its falsehood, and I beg you to believe that I should not have named it at all, but from my conviction of its untruth. I told Mrs. A. that I did not desire any refutation of that part of the report which respected the Sermon, but I thought if what you had been made to say (but which I knew you had not said] respecting the Club, was contradicted, it would invalidate the credit of the reporter about the Sermon also: for this foolish story would not have signified in the least if it had not been made to involve the reputation of poor Drewitt, who has been in danger of being dismissed from his Situation from the representation made by Mr. W. at Wells. [added in: "but I cannot say to what extent your name was made use of there"]. It is the more disingenuous of W. -- as he repeatedly averred to my Sisters, and to the company "This is a first rate man! -- he ought not to be buried at Cheddar[21] -- he should go to London". He is certainly a young man of considerable talents, an diligent Scholar, and of irreproachable character. -- My dear Sir, it will be very hard if you or I might not say what parts of a Sermon we liked or disliked; I am sure I hear very few which I much like, and I generally give my opinion pretty frankly if asked, just as one does of a Book.

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[19] The remainder of the letters in this collection are from Hannah More either to Sir John Addington, Mrs. Addington or Miss Mary Addington, their daughter.

[20] Made up; fallacious (Johnson's Dictionary, 1755).

It was a great gratification to me when I came home to hear the kind and even strong things which Col. and Mrs. Addington had said in favour of the Shipham Institution, as I thought such high authority might tend to remove prejudices against those who exert themselves in favour of the poor, which to speak truth is one reason of having established this little fatiguing Anniversary. I need not repeat that I utterly disbelieved the subsequent report, and only named it to Mrs. A. from the notion that if it were known that W. spoke an untruth on the subject of the Club it might weaken the value of his testimony on the Subject of Drewitt, whom he has tried to injure.

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[21] The first and flagship school of thirteen Sunday and day schools was established at Cheddar, a small rural town, by More and her sisters in 1789. Mr. W. is unidentified.

I expect to see some of the Wells[22] Clergy soon [a few words struck out] when I hope I shall be able to soften this Prejudice. You need not fear being committed by me, or that I shall make an unfair use of what you have been so good as to say. Mr. W. is so known as a misrepresenter and a large talker that his reports ought to have little weight, yet I have felt it right repeatedly to lower the high colour his sanguine temper has given ^to others^ of your kindness to him, and of expectations from you which you never meant to raise, as my common sense ^told me^. I do beseech you not to let this silly business give you a moment's uneasiness. I am so accustomed to these petty calumnies myself that I should not easily convince you how little impression they make on me, except when they are likely to be injurious to others.

Yes -- it is a fact that I have been presented at the visitation[23] as a person suspected of teaching French Principles.[24] Is not that excellent? Unluckily the Parish where I have this School (Wedmore)[25] is not under the jurisdiction of our Diocesan,[26] who is my great friend, and would take such a report as it deserved; but it comes under the cognisance of the Dean, a new Man just appointed. I have actually been obliged to write to Mr. Windham (who is a relation of the Dean) to desire him to satisfy this gentleman that I am not a very likely person to create a rebellion either in Church or State. Mr. Windham,[27] who knows me, has written just as you would expect. I think this will divert ^you.^ I cannot forbear telling you this, that the people in that quarter have been to the Fortune Teller to know if I am a Methodist, and if my School was Methodistical.[28] The answer of the oracle was ambiguous but inclining to the negative. She wished, however, to know on what their suspicion was grounded; and being told it was because they sang the new version of the Psalms,[29] the

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[22] The diocese includes Bath and Wells; the Bishop's Palace is at Wells.

[23] The OED describes a visitation as an official visit by the Bishop during which he examines the churches of his diocese.

[24] Beliefs that led to the French Revolution, especially anticlerical beliefs.

[25] Martha More writes that she and Hannah are uneasy about Wedmore; they are suspicious that their worthy schoolmaster might also be "rash and indiscreet" (Mendip, 1799, 220).

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[26] The Bishop who has jurisdiction over the diocese. Other Bishops who have jurisdiction over certain sections of a diocese are called Suffragans. As More indicates, the Dean, and not the Diocesan Bishop, is in administrative charge of a Cathedral and its appended parish churches.

[27] Not identified.

[28] From followers of John Wesley who questioned the practices of the Church of England and held that orthodoxy was a very small part of religion. More's and Wesley's methods were similar regarding their employment of good works, charity and lay assistants (see Introduction). It could be said that the annual feasts held by More at each school resembled in some ways the "lovefeasts" that Wesley's followers held each quarter. Nonetheless, More remained a lifelong member of the Church of England, as did Wesley.

[29] The villagers would have been referring to the New Version of the Psalms which was printed for parish churches. It contained, along with the Psalms, principal festivals, feasts and music. The

Pythian[30] declared there was nothing methodistical in that, but still sagely suggested that her decision of the question would depend on her knowledge of the Tunes. This hint they caught hold of with eagerness declaring "they had now proof positive for that none of the tunes sung at the School were in "Farmer Clapp's Book".[31] Thus the point was settled! Now dont you think that the folly of such opposers furnishes strong ground for one's persisting to make them a little wiser in spite of themselves?

Allow me, my dear Sir, however to say that my notions of instructing the poor are extremely limited. I allow no writing, nor any reading but the Bible, Catechism and such little Tracts as may enable them to understand the Church Service;[32] that they do not understand it is one reason why they do not like to go. Let me say that all the poor whom I have instructed are loyal to a man and that I am calumniated

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tenth edition of this work was printed in London in 1798 by W. Miller.

[30] A frenzied person (OED) from Apollo's oracle, a Priestess who went into a trance before she foretold the future. (Edith Hamilton, Mythology, 1969). Thomas Hardy mentions in The Mayor of Casterbridge (set in Dorset, the next county to Somerset) the local people's belief in someone claiming occult powers to foresee the future.

[31] Gary Kelly suggests that this might be a type of chapbook containing song words which could be either suggestive of impropriety or irreligion. Such works were published by Marshall of Newcastle (letter of March 18, 1998).

[32] Henry Thompson cites this clause and the previous sentence beginning with "my notions . . . " in his Life of Hannah More, 1838, 90. Thompson was the curate of Wrington parish (Demers, World, 191).

by the Methodists for attaching so many to Church and State. The Revolutions in France and Ireland two Countries (remar)kable for the ig(noran)ce of the poor, have stimulated my endeavours; to which let me add that Harry Fielding[33] told a friend of mine that during his administration of Justice in Bow Street he ever had but six Scotsmen brought before him, which he ascribed to (their b)eing early instructed in Xianity.[34]

Forgive me (the e)gotism and tautology of this long Epistle & believe me that few things would give me more concern than to forfeit yours and Mrs. Addington's regard -- May I say friendship, being as I am with great truth

My dear Sir
Y^rs^[35] very obliged
and [smudged]
H. More

Cowslip 23 Sep

I shall be very happy to discuss the Subject of Clubs &c with you being always glad to get fresh lights, [sic] and to rectify my judgement on all such topics.

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[33] More's familiar reference to records of Henry Fielding's circle is a reminder that her network of social connections kept her in touch with other intellectual people in spite of her "retirement" to Cowslip Green.

[34] A shortened form of the word "Christianity".

[35] I have normalized More's closings somewhat. Arrows framing certain letters indicate that the letters are raised above the writing line. See Textual Practices.

4. To Mrs. Addington 1803

This letter and all others to Mrs. Addington are from a bundle endorsed "41 letters & notes" plus More's name, year. This note is worm-eaten.

Dear Madam

I return you many thanks for your very obliging attention in sending the Pattern &c, as well as for the curious specimen of Oriental Literature.[36] I have been extremely entertained with Julian. Bletini[37] has given me a far more precise idea of his character than I had collected from Ammianus, Gibbon and Warburton. If Mr. Addington had leisure to pursue the idea, I think a parallel might be drawn between the Apostate Emperor and the first Consul,[38] more interesting than any in Plutarch. The same hypocrisy, vanity, and affectation of ancient manners. Mahomet would form a third, in a view of these hommes singuliers; tho of this Triumvirate, he[39] certainly wou'd be the greater, as Julian[40] wou'd perhaps be the better man.

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[36] Of the East, or countries east of the Mediterranean; . . . characteristic of the civilization etc. of the East (OED).

[37] More must be referring to a book by Bletini about Julian the Apostate. I have found no record of this work. Edward Gibbon (1734-94) wrote Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; William Warburton (1698-1779), Bishop of Gloucester published polemical tracts on literary property, an edition of Shakespeare, A Vindication of Pope's Essay on Man (1740) and other works; Marcellinus Ammianus wrote about Roman history during the reigns of the emperors Constantine, Julian and Jovianus.

[38] Napoleon Bonaparte was First Consul from 1799 to 1804, when he became Emperor of France.

We expect next week to see the Lady who makes the Dutch beef,[41] when I will not fail to obtain the receipt for you. In the mean time will you forgive the liberty I take in begging you to accept a small piece of the Beef itself? It might be boiled, and grated as you want it.

Mr. Addington will have the goodness to direct the 2 enclosed letters at any time and suffer them to accompany yours to the post. I am dear Madam

Your most obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley Wood
Saturday
We were much gratified by the Speech [smudged] excellent Premier[42] which [smudged] thankfully restore.

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[39] Napoleon.

[40] i.e. the Apostate.

[41] Dutch was used at this time to describe German -- from "deutsch". Perhaps More refers to a German way of preparing dried beef (Daniel Pool, What Jane Austen Ate, 303).

[42] Henry Addington, John Hiley Addington's brother, later Viscount Sidmouth, was Prime Minister from 1801 to 1804.

5. To Mrs. Addington 1808

The endorsement reads "Mrs. H. More 1808 Corinne[43] lent."

My dear Madam

This strange book is so popular that I told Mr. A. he could not show his face in the grande monde if he had not read it. It is lent me for a few days only. If you will expedite this and return it you shall have the 2nd vol. There are three. The author is Mad: de Stael Necker's naughty Daughter.[44] -- It is the most wonderful mixture of genius and bad taste, learning and absurdity, want of Nature yet abounding in fine description that I ever read. The Heroine is a mere Attitudinarian, or Goddess of Reason. The valuable part is the description of Italy which is masterly and they ^say^ very correct. I hope your face is quite restored, and that you have good accounts of your Senator.[45]

I now send thanks for your delicate vegetables. With best regards to your party I am ever Yours

my dear Madam

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[43] *Corinna; or Italy* by Madame de Stael was translated from French and published at London in 1807. A. Goldberger claims that *Corinne* was "one of the most popular books in the nineteenth century on the Continent, in England, and in America" (*Corinne*, Introduction, xv).

[44] Anne Louise Germaine Necker, daughter of Jacques Necker. He was a Swiss protestant who later became Minister of Finance in France in the decade before the French Revolution. Hannah More met the Neckers and their young daughter at the Garricks' in London in the late 1770s. Germaine married Baron de Stael-Holstein in 1786. Napoleon was so threatened by de Stael's heroine in her first novel, *Delphine*, that he exiled her from Paris in 1802.

[45] Sir John Addington.

H. More

I think you will judge it expedient to read Corinne alone.[46]

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[46] Although read by many young women including Jane Austen and Mary Shelley, Corinne, More implies here, would not be suitable reading for Miss Addington. The heroine is an independent genius who uses only a first name with no patrilineal connections and she partakes in revolutionary moral actions not sanctioned by social custom, such as male and female cohabitation. For a complete analysis see Avriel H. Goldberger, trans. and introd., Corinne, 1987.

6. To Miss Addington 1811

Endorsed with name, year. Seal.

My dear Miss Addington

We have truly sympathized in your very heavy family affliction; the more heavy as the danger had appeared to be over.

I should be extremely happy to supply your very agreeable Sicilian with Spanish books had I a greater variety. The truth is, I never much cared but for one and that the best[47] -- I need not say I mean the incomparable Knight of Mancha.[48] I presume he has got that, and would never send it having a good Edition. I have been keeping my bed as my Sister Martha got out of her[s]. I am better to day.

Best respects to Mrs. Addington and your Gentlemen.

Yours

My dear Miss
Addington very
sincerely H. More

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[47] More paraphrases William Collins who is reported by Samuel Johnson to have said: "I have but one book, but that is the best" (Samuel Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, in Greene, 761). Collins is referring to his English Testament; it is quite surprising that More would joke about the Bible even implicitly.

[48] From Cervantes' Don Quixote. More tells Sir W.W. Pepys, in a letter of May, 1811, that she had been a "mad enthusiast" for Spain at the beginning of the Peninsular conflict (1807). She now believes that her enthusiasm for Spain must have arisen from her "fondness for Don Quixote." (Roberts, II, 178).

Our *new* Quarterly is not home. I believe Mr. Addington did not return two of Copplestone's Pamphlets.[49]

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[49] Edward Coppleston was a Dean of St. Paul's 1828-49 who wrote pamphlets on religion and education. The National Union Catalogue lists his second edition of *An enquiry into the doctrines of necessity and predestination in four discourses* which was printed at London in 1821. I have found no entries for Edward Coppleston at the *British Library Catalogue* WEB site. His earlier pamphlets may not have survived.

7. To Mr. Addington 7 Sept. [1811]

No address.

My dear Sir

I feel much concerned that owing to our being detained at Mr. Gisbornes[50] near a fortnight longer than we intended, we got here only last night. Of course your letter has lain ten days, at Shrewsbury before we reached it, which must have subjected me to the appearance of neglecting any request of yours. I made what amends I could by writing to the Bishop of Durham this morning and shall feel happy if success should attend the application. As we shall be setting out in two or three days to take a little peep into Wales, as far as Llangollen,[51] Valle Crucis[52] &c perhaps I may miss his Lordship's[53] answer which I shall direct to be sent after me. I mention this to account for a probable second delay.

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[50] Thomas Gisborne (1758-1846) was prebendary of Durham and a friend of William Wilberforce and Hannah More. He published several sermons that were admired by More. Gisborne also wrote an encouraging letter of support to More about the Blagdon affair in 1802. In a letter to Sir W.W. Pepys (May 1811) More describes a Gisborne family visit to Barley Wood -- Rev., Mrs., and their nine children (Roberts, II, 177). More confirms her return visit to the Gisbornes when she writes to Mrs. King of a "long-promised visit" to the Gisbornes in Staffordshire at the beginning of August, 1811 (Roberts, II, 181). It is this last bit of information that helped me to supply a date for this letter.

[51] A town in North Wales, also the home of two famous aristocratic spinsters, Lady Eleanor Butler and her partner, Sarah Ponsonby. Their idyllic setting, a picturesque garden, the "gothick witticisms of their cottage," and their very close relationship led to their reputation as the ideal practitioners of retirement and to speculation about the nature of their love for each other (See Elizabeth Mavor, The Ladies of Llangollen). Many intellectual and literary English people of More's day, including Hannah More, visited these two women. Some writers, such as Anna Seward, published poems about them. (See Seward, Llangollen Vale, 1784). In a letter to Mrs. King of 6 November, 1811, More writes about her trip to Wales, describing her visit to " . . . the celebrated ladies of Llangollen Vale." She says: with the vale and the ladies

I hope the delicious scenery of Wales will make me some amends for the tremendous horrors of Coalbrook dale,[54] Where I yesterday rode twelve miles between fires, forges, Mills, Engines, Wheels, dust and smoke, condensed almost to solidified darkness[55] by a strong East wind. It united all the beauties of Tartarus Phlegethon and Cocytas.[56] My admiration at such stupendous instances of the power of Mechanics ^was lowered^ by seeing a place whose natural charms scarce yielded to the finest parts of Matlock[57] and

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we were much delighted" (Roberts II, 182).

[52] Picturesque ruins of the Vale Crucis Abbey which is located in the Valley of Llangollen.

[53] Bishop of Durham.

[54] Because More had just arrived at Shrewsbury, after leaving the Gisborne's Staffordshire home, she would have come across "Coalbrook dale" en route between these two locations. Although she is revolted by the effects of heavy industry on the landscape, the profits from The Coalbrooke-Dale Company enabled Richard Reynolds, a businessman from Bristol, to establish many charities in Bristol and elsewhere. When Reynolds died on 10 September 1816, it was believed that his expenditure on charity was close to 10,000 pounds per annum (See Gentleman's Magazine, October, 1816, 372).

[55] More would become personally involved with the products of industry in the following years. See, particularly, letter Nos. 62 to 70.

[56] Regions of the ancient hell (Hades), from Greek mythology.

[57] Beauty spot.

Dovedale[58] so disfigured, discoloured and obscured by thick clouds of the densest and darkest smoke. We were rewarded in the evening by the finest scenery imaginable from Coalbrooke Dale to Shrewsbury fine Meadows and woods thro which ran the Silver Severn[59] close by on one side, the Wrekin[60] on the other, the Welsh Mountains the scene of the valour of of [sic] Caractacas,[61] at a distance.

My Sister joins me in best regards to Mrs. Addington and the rest of your circle.

I am my dear Sir

Y^rs^ obliged and faithful

H. More

Shrewsbury 7 sep^br^

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[58] Beauty spot.

[59] A tidal river that flows along a valley of the same name through Worcestershire, England, where it meets the Stour River and continues south. One early nineteenth-century publication describes the geological strata that are passed through in boring into the bed of the Severn, which could explain the "Silver" colour mentioned by More in this letter.

[60] A dramatic-looking hill in Shropshire (abbreviated Salop) which appears higher than it actually is because it is surrounded by flat plains.

[61] Ancient British resister of the Romans.

I must defer the account of Anne Moore the Tutbury Woman[62] who is said to have lived four years without eating, till we meet.

Have the goodness to put the inclosed in the post.[63]

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[62] Between 1808 and 1810 two Tutbury physicians published accounts of the "extraordinary case of abstinence of Ann Moore of Tutbury." Either Hannah More came across one of these pamphlets while she was travelling, or she went to Tutbury on this trip with a mind to check out this story.

[63] The two-penny post of London.

8. To Mr. Addington 5 December 1811

Red wax seal. Addressed to "The Right Honble/J.H. Addington/Langford Court."

My dear Sir

We return you many thanks for your acceptance of the bearer of this note into your Legion.[64] If he is as much afraid of the French as he is of Spirits I am fearful he will make one of Falstaffe's soldiers[65] and prove that he thinks "discretion the better part of valour." He is a remarkably well disposed youth and I hope will be grateful for your goodness.

Yours very
faithfully
H. More

B. Wood
Thursday morn.

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[64] More uses her connections with Addington and the government to secure employment in the army for an acquaintance.

[65] From Shakespeare's King Henry IV.

9. To Mr. Addington 14 January 1812

Red wax seal. Addressed to "the R. Honble J. H. Addington/Viscount Sidmouth's/Richmond Park/Surrey. Paper fragment stuck to back of sealing wax. Line lost.

My dear Sir

The papers give me such an idea of public bustle and business that I find you are driven from your delightful retreat before the month is expired in which you allowed me to encroach on your goodness by availing myself of your kind offer of being the medium of communication between me and my Irish friends.[66] The included is an answer to a letter which I think would interest you, as it confirms Dr. Mcgee's report of the number of converts from Popery in the Two-Rivers Catholic Colleges in Ireland. The Popish Bishops are so enraged that they declare they will ordain no more Candidates from Maynouth. They like St. Omer's [on the continent] better, whence they return fraught with every prejudice not only against the religion but the Government of their Native Country. Two eminent Priests after a public recantation are now preaching with great success in Protestant Churches in and near Dublin.

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[66] Among More's good friends was Lady Olivia Sparrow whose brother, Sir Archibald Acheson, was second Earl of Gosford in the Irish peerage.

As I see your name in the Committee I conclude you are removing into the land of murders.[67] But tho the peril is much increased since Johnson proclaimed that in London "you must sign your will before you sup from home,"[68] yet I do not think you would be much more secure at Langford Court. The innocent Country, as those who dont know that human nature is pretty much the same wicked animal every where call it, is likely to rival the Metropolis. The immediate Neighbourhood of Bristol is under great alarms from horrible combinations[69] which they are almost afraid to search to the bottom. We have yet had no fright, thank God. Thank you dear Sir for posting out to me the B. Review[70] of Trotter's life of Fox.[71] It has all the point of the Edinburgh with more harmless pleasantry; as much wit and less malice. The age requires a little of the assaisonnement. Uncoloured good sense, also naked truth I am sorry to say will not support any publication against Competitors, who are always ready to sacrifice good sense and health into the bargain for a bon mot. I seldom write a letter without recommending the B. Review. Whi{le the}y maintain that high tone of moralism they will be sure to have the best if not the largest party on their side.

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[67] Addington is going to London where crime is greater than in rural England.

[68] Johnson's exact words from his poem, London, are: "Prepare for death, if here at night you roam,/ And sign your will before you sup from home" (London, 224-5 in Greene, 7).

[69] Certain types of meetings. The Combinations Act of 12 July 1799 prohibited two types of meetings: those between employers to prevent price fixing and those between employees meeting in trade unions to pursue seditious activities. People accused of violating this act forfeited their right to trial by jury.

[70] The ultra-conservative British Review, edited by More's friend, William Roberts, who later published her memoirs.

[71] Memoirs of the latter years of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox were published by John Bernard Trotter (1775-1818), an Irish barrister, who was secretary to Fox.

It is hard upon you not only to frank[72] my letter but to read my verbiage. All here join in best regards to Mrs. Addington and the young gentry with

my dear Sir
Yrs very obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley Wood
Jan 14

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[72] Mark a letter to ensure that it is sent free of postage. This was a privilege allowed to Members of Parliament.

10. To Mr. Addington 18 January [1812}

"Hurray! to your Serene Highness!!" -- to speak the language of the immortal Russians,[73] which is really now the only language worth learning, or speaking. How much more musical than the finical Italian are their conglomerated Consonants, and their unpronounceable proper names! I am reading Dr. Clarke's entertaining Travels,[74] but am quite angry at his unqualified abuse, of this spirited people -- It was very well to tell them once for all that they were Savages (of which however I see no proof) but continually to go out of his way to abuse them, in season and out of season! I am really troubled lest their ambassador should read it.

I take my usual liberty of troubling you with the inclosed. I hope you have lost all gout,[75] and that your family will meet in perfect health de part et d'autre.

I am ever my dear Sir

Yours faithfully

H. More

B. Wood

18 Jan.

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[73] More's interest in and ability to read various languages began early when her father taught her Latin; as she grew older she learned French, Italian and Spanish (Jones, 13).

[74] Edward Daniel Clarke's Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa: Russia, Tartary and Turkey. Vol I was published in 1811 at London by T. Cadell and W. Davies.

[75] A painful condition affecting the joints.

11. To Mr. Addington 26 February 1812

Red wax seal. Addressed: "The Right Honble J. H. Addington
M.P./London

My dear Sir

I seldom feel more awkward or uncomfortable than when I sit down to do a thing that I fear is impertinent or improper. But I have received so many civilities from Mr. Hart Davis,[76] that I take the liberty to apply to you at his earnest request for your favor. You know doubtless that, to the regret of all good men, Mr. Belhurst retires from Bristol. After he had declared his intention Mr. Davis proposed himself to succeed him upon which the Electors of Colchester invested his son, young Hart Davis to stand for Colchester. It is well received there -- Now for the petition to you. It is no less than you would have the goodness to recommend some of your Harwich[77] Electors who have votes for Colchester to favour young Hart Davis. He is an amiable and courteous young man. Now I have done my worst, and I am glad it is over. All that I have to hope is that however you may disapprove of the petition you will forgive the petitioner, who I assure you undertook it with no small reluctance.

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[76] M.G. Jones identifies More's neighbours, the Hart-Davises.

[77] Harwich is a port town in Southeastern England, near Colchester. John Addington was MP for Harwich from 1803-18.

We are anxiously looking every day in the papers in hope to see some of our friends in the new Ministerial Arrangements.[78]

The last report of your health was not a good one unless "the welcome earnest of fourscore"[79] is a subject of congratulations. But I never can congratulate my friends on the gout being a substitute for all other maladies while I think it almost as bad as all of them put together.

For myself I have been a close prisoner since Autumn, and have had a very bad Winter. There is a sort of ubiquity in Bile, for it invades every part of me except my head which is the only part of my body -- (there's a bull[80] for you) that knows any thing like ease.

I hope Mrs. Addington keeps well. I beg my best respects to her. I rejoice Mr. H. Addington[81] is gone abroad under such good auspices, tho it [smudged] a serious thing to have any thing so dear to you in another Hemisphere.

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[78] Elections were held in 1812. Parliament was dissolved by 29 September that year.

[79] Gout. It was believed that if one got gout, no other ailment would follow.

[80] i.e. Irish. This is an English person's concept of the Irish always getting things wrong.

[81] John Addington's son, Henry Unwin Addington (1790-1870) who became permanent under-secretary for foreign affairs in 1807. He was envoy to Spain and then Switzerland (1814). Later he was sent to Copenhagen and Washington. More refers to Henry's experiences on the continent in several letters of this collection. She is especially fond of Henry as she indicates in letter No. 87.

With repeated apologies and best good wishes

I am ever my dear Sir
Your very obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley wood 26 Feb.

12. To Mrs. Addington 27 June 1812

Seal. Endorsed, name, date.

My dear Madam

No day has passed this fortnight but I have talked of you and longed to give you signs of life but one wet day upon another has prevented it and I forbore to write because I intended to come. A thousand thanks to you for the whitest and most beautiful pig[82] that ever was seen -- we have all been called to admire its fair form. We hope it will keep for our friend Mrs. Williams of Tydenham who comes to us on Monday. Methinks we have a vast deal to say and to hear when we meet.

I hope you get good accounts of Mr. Addington. How we do enjoy the defeat of the two proud Lords![83] Will this session ever be over?

Yours my dear Madam
very sincerely
H. More

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[82] Although mutton was the meat staple of the middle ranks' diet, and Daniel Pool notes that "pigs were a sign of decent rural lower-class food" (204), it seems that More is grateful to get fresh pork to serve her company during England's troubles with food shortages and high food prices. Pork was preserved by salting or smoking and served as black pudding, brawn, ham or bacon.

[83] Following Perceval's assassination on 11 May, 1812 (see below) a number of factions competed to form a ministry. The contending opposition was headed by Lords Grey and Grenville, who were unsuccessful. These are the proud Lords of More's remarks. More's friend Henry Addington joined forces with Lord Liverpool, who formed the next ministry.

Our hay mowed, and I fear spoiled[84] --

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[84] Spoiled hay means that More will need to acquire hay from someone else in order to feed her horses. Daniel Pool estimates that each horse required fifty-six pounds of hay per week (What Jane Austen Ate, 142).

13. To Mr. Addington [1812]

No salutation.

Sir Romilly[85] withdrew his pretensions yesterday morning. Davis[86] polled six hundred afterwards. As Hunt[87] will still keep the poll open the good cause will be abundantly triumphant. I am much pleased that both my friends here carried it with such a high hand.

Mr. Roscoe[88] was nominated at Leeds by a Cobler, seconded by an Auctioneer, and supported by a Banker's Clerk!!

I hope my favourite young friend Sir T. Acland[89] is by this time victorious in Devon.

---

[85] Samuel Romilly (1757-1818) was the chancellor of the county Palatine of Durham from 1805-15. He brought about significant law reforms to the criminal code; he published on this topic in 1810. He was in favour of Catholic emancipation and the abolition of slavery. Romilly must have been intending to stand for Bristol along with Hunt and Davis.

[86] Hart-Davis.

[87] Henry Hunt (1773-1835), radical politician from a farm in Upavon, Wiltshire, who had a history of aggressive behaviour and imprisonment. Hunt unsuccessfully contested Bristol in the elections of 1812.

[88] William Roscoe (1753-1831) was a retired attorney who became a partner and manager of a Liverpool bank in 1799. He was well known as a publicist, who wrote for reform and against Edmund Burke. He was elected a Whig MP for Liverpool in 1806-7. In this letter, More ridicules Roscoe. The House of Commons reveals that "his unsuccessful candidature at Leicester was without his knowledge" (V, 45).

[89] Thomas Dyke Acland (1787-1871) was elected MP for Devon in 1812. He was a philanthropist who was very interested in religious movements. He and More became good friends; Acland paid for the Pickersgill painting of More which was done at Barley Wood in 1821 (See Roberts, II, 314).

H. More

We cordially congratulate you on your triumphant entrance into Harwich.[90] Davis has already spent 3000 pounds on blue ribbons. What a wise world this is!

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[90] John Addington was re-elected in 1812.

14. To Mr. Addington 27 August 1812

Red wax seal - first sheet completely encloses the second/gilt-edged paper. Addressed "The Right Honble J. H. Addington/Home Department/Downing Street/Westminster." Endorsement by H. More "The enclosed is a useful scrap to circulate -- a Clergyman just gave it me who has had a great many printed."/ There is no trace of the clergyman's work with this letter.

My dear Sir

Nothing but severe indisposition should have kept me so long from congratulating -- or condoling with you. -- I do however honestly congratulate my Country upon every accession she gains of honourable highly principled men to political power -- but in point of domestic enjoyment.

Fame wealth and honour what are you to Linton![91]

I am so far recovered as to have stolen as far as Langford Court to day to pay my devoirs. The lady of the mansion ^says^ that in regard to London "all is not lost" -- At my return I felt in full force the blessings of retirement finding eight people, two from every Cardinal point of the Compass, uninvited almost unknown come to dinner! ^Oh for a Linton!^[92] I stole away one moment from them, not feeling comfortable to delay another post. My most cordial thanks for your very obliging remembrance of me. Your kind note was extremely gratifying to me. I hope I shall not abuse the large and liberal indulgence of your permission to trouble you sometimes, but as I know I should fulfil your intention in offering it, I shall avail myself of it occasionally.

---

[91] More's preceding mention of domestic enjoyment suggests that she means Lynton, Devon. It is located one-half mile north of the holiday spot, Lynmouth. (See below, letter No. 27). More freely interchanges "i" and "y" when naming locations.

I hope you will not aggravate the mischief of overworking by underworking and beg you to use your locomotive as well as your intellectual powers.

The eight are calling for me so I must get thro it as I can[93] --

Yours ever my dear Sir
most faithfully
and sincerely
H. More

Barley Wood
August 27

---

[92] Again, More indicates (albeit facetiously) that she longs for an escape from pressing engagements.

[93] More's feigned exasperation exposes her delight in manipulating language to amuse her friends.

15. To Mr. Addington 13 October [1812]

Endorsed name. Addressed to "Right Hon/J.H. Addington." No salutation.

A thousand thanks, to you my dear Sir -- It is Mr. Haviland's[94] gallantry which has given you this trouble.[95] I should have made no scruple in sending to you, but was not quite clear of the propriety of receiving from you. You will smell out that by your kind offices you are contributing to some mischief by the address of the inclosed -- I have desired Cadell &c to trouble you (tell) Mr. Thornton[96] my Printer is returned to his Seat. The inclosed -- yesterdays Poll[97] looks favourable for both my friends.[98]

Yours my dear Sir
very faithfully
H. More

Barley Wood

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[94] This must be the enigmatic Addington heir. See Introduction. He must have been home in 1812. It sounds as if Haviland had taken a parcel to More from Mr. Addington. He seems to have volunteered his father's services to send a return package to More's printer.

[95] More's work Christian Morals was published in 1813. Here John Addington is passing More's work on to Cadell and Davies. He could be receiving advance copies as well.

[96] Henry Thornton, More's friend and the benefactor of her schools.

[97] Indicates an election year. This must be 1812, since John Addington had died before the elections of 1818. I have dated this letter accordingly.

[98] One person supported by More in the elections of 1812 was Sir Thomas Acland, who won his seat.

13 Oct^br

16. To Mrs. Addington November 1812

Endorsed month, year.

My dear Madam

Talking of the Catholic business[99] yesterday leads me to send you (together with Hall's Sermon)[100] a little tract rec'd last night from our good friend at Abergivnny [sic][101] -- He has been zealously engaged all the Summer in proving that St. Paul first preached the Gospel in Britain -- and that the British Church is more ancient than the Romish, and escaped its corruptions when all the other Churches were infected by them -- I get a Scrap or two most weeks from the indefatigable Prelate -- I like to encourage the notion that Paul came over with the family of Caractacus, of which he makes quite sure.

With best respects to Mr.

---

[99] Began with the Act of Union and involved the question of whether or not to extend to Catholics any civil rights. Pitt resigned over this question when the King vetoed Catholic relief in 1801, which resulted in the King's appointing Henry Addington to the position of Prime Minister. The issue was raised and then shelved in 1807. A debate was again reopened by Henry Grattan (see below) in 1812 but the bill was once more defeated (History of Parliament, Introductory Survey, Vol I).

[100] Robert Hall, a Baptist, was notorious for his published sermon on "Modern Infidelity" and its effect on society (1800). In 1810, Hall published another sermon about the benefits of knowledge that could be acquired through Sunday School for the lower ranks. More could be referring to either of these works. I have not found anything more recent.

[101] Abergavenny, a town 145 miles NW of London. More likes the idea that the British (Celtic) Church predates the Romish, which would mean British independence from the Roman Catholic church.

Addington I am my dear
Madam truly Yours
H. More

17. To Mr. Addington 25 November 1812

Endorsed name, date. Addressed "Right Honble J.H. Addington." No salutation.

Many thanks my dear Sir for your very kind valedictory note, which I had too much respect for your short time and numerous engagements to answer. I hope to hear from Mrs. Addington that you got to town without the same inconvenience of catching cold, to which I must say the imprudence of travelling in a night vehicle in November exposed you in coming down.

I must repeat how exceedingly I am obliged by your great kindness to me and my trumpery papers.[102] If any thing could tempt you to repent having done a good natured action, it would be the being obliged to peruse what you have been so good as to convey -- but I shall hazard it.

Believe me my dear Sir
Your very obliged
and faithful
H. More

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[102] Trivial pamphlets. More is being facetious.

My hair stood on end[103] at hearing of the treachery (for such I suppose it is) of Ballasteros[104] and has hardly recovered its natural position.

B. Wood Thursday

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[103] It is quite rare to witness Hannah More's use of cliche, let alone her embellishing a cliche hyperbolically with such an image.

[104] Francisco Ballesteros, a Spanish guerilla leader, who contested Wellington's leadership.

18. To Mrs. Addington 6 December 1812

Endorsed name, date.

Ten thousand thanks my dear Madam for your kindness in sending us such heart reviving news[105] -- Glory be to God -- I am so agitated with hope and joy that I can only hold my pen to assure you how gratefully

I am Yours sincerely

HM

We were in total ignorance.

---

[105] Government Gazettes, which informed Britons about significant political events, on 11 November and November 19 describe the victorious Battle of Alba de Tormes in the Peninsular War. Britons are told that the "enemy withdrew." Addington sends these Gazettes home and Mrs. Addington forwards them to the Mores. M.G. Jones notes also that "in the last years of the war, Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, sent them [the More sisters], as a special privilege, copies of the 'Gazette Extraordinary'" (Jones, 206).

19. To Mr. Addington 15 December 1812

Endorsed name, date.

My dear Sir

In acknowledging past obligations I always take care to incur new ones. But your goodness to me quite spoils me and to save trouble, as Madame Sevigné[106] says, il n'y a que me jetter dans l'ingratitude.

You quite glut us with victories[107] -- and "increase of appetite doth grow with what it feeds on."[108]

I could not resist the temptation to make Mrs. Davis happy by the sight of your most gratifying information respecting her son's debut.

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[106] Marie de Rabutin Chantal, Marquise (1626-1696), renowned as a letter writer who narrated public and private affairs during the reign of Louis XIV. She moved in court social circles and attended plays by Molière and Racine. Her letters, particularly those to her daughter, Mme de Grignan, expose her sense of humour as well as her love of her daughter and of nature.

[107] More is most likely referring to the victories of the Peninsular War as she did the previous week, or she could be responding to the victories of the British in America. An "extraordinary Gazette" of 27 November announced the defeat of American forces as they attempted for a second time to invade upper Canada. (See Gentleman's Magazine, Nov, 1812, 490). As well, a Gazette of 28 November stated that 33 American vessels had been detained and that two English ships had been recaptured.

[108] From Shakespeare's Hamlet I, ii, 143. The lines read: "Why, she would hang on him, / As if increase of appetite had grown / By what it fed on."

Have you seen a lively little pamphlet -- "The Rejected Addresses."[109] Some of the imitations are excellent -- equal I think to "The needy knife grinder" especially Cobbett,[110] Walter Scott and Lord Byron --

Yours dear Sir
most faithfully
H. More

Messrs Cadell[111] tell me they have taken the liberty to trouble you with a small pacquet[112] for me.

B. Wood

Dec 15 --

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[109] James and Horace Smith published parodies of contemporary poets in Rejected Addresses: or The New Theatrum Poetarum. London: J. Miller, 1812.

[110] See below, letter No. 47.

[111] Thomas Cadell and William Davies published many of More's works as well as five of the eight editions of Boswell's Life of Johnson. Cadell, whose father had published More's work, took over his father's business and formed a partnership with Davies.

[112] More's Christian Morals. See below, letter No. 17.

20. To Mr. Addington 17 December 1812

Addressed to "The Right Honble J. H. Addington/& & &/Whitehall, London." Postmarked WRINGTON. Red wax seal. No salutation.

Ten thousand thanks my dear Sir for your kind attention and for your glorious news.[113]

Excuse my adding that Cadell [wrote] me last Monday that he had taken the liberty to send me a [smudged] thro you. As I have not yet got it,[114] I fancy there must be some mistake --

Yours most
gratefully
H. More

It is probably lying by with your voluminous papers -- It is sent for a list of Errata which I suppose will be numerous enough.

---

[113] Gazettes of 8 December and 16 December, 1812 contain reports from General Viscount Cathcart, Ambassador to Russia who is at St. Petersburg. He describes the retreat of Napoleon and his army from Russia after a gruelling, three-month ordeal. The Gentleman's Magazine of December, 1812 describes the fate of Napoleon in a four-page article.

[114] See next letter, No. 17.

21. To Mr. Addington 22 December 1812

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Honble J. H. Addington.

My dear Sir

It is well paper does not blush, as the pacquet you sent is so large that it would be ashamed of itself. A letter from Cadell to say that more than the whole Edition of a certain new book[115] being bespoke before publication, has sent for a corrected copy without loss of time.

No -- I cannot tell you how your kindness -- your notes and Gazettes have brightened our dark nights and cheered our little party! Indeed your goodness has not been cast on an ungrateful soil. Yours ever my dear Sir most faithfully

H. More

Friday night

Oh what a blessed change in the state of the world!!![116]

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[115] More alludes to her newest work, Christian Morals. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1813. Henry Thompson notes that there were eleven editions of this work (Thompson, Life, 258).

[116] See letter No. 14 above.

22. To Mr. Addington [February 1813]

Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

I should be sinning against the public convenience,[117] if the inclosed Letters with which I take the liberty to trouble required any thing more than to be committed to the 2 penny post. I beg to offer the kindest remembrances to Mrs. Addington.

Poor Mr. Inman![118] How greatly you must have shocked [sic]. He sent some game the very day before his death.

We are longing for some Gothenburgh [sic] Mails.[119]

Yours my dear Sir
very faithfully
H. More

B. Wood
Saturday

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[117] More's implication is that Addington is a civil servant whose time and efforts should be expended on behalf of the public, rather than on favours for his friends.

[118] More must mean the Mr. Inman, of Bristol, who, on January 27, 1813, "dropped down at the corner of Bucklersbury, as he was returning from the Bank, in company with a friend, and instantly expired. He had nearly 10,000 [pounds] in his hands when he fell, which property was secured" (Gentleman's Magazine 83:1 (March 1813): 286.

[119] Henry Unwin Addington, an envoy to many different places, must be visiting Gothenburg, Sweden. The earliest record of his having been assigned to a diplomatic post, noted in British Diplomatic Representatives, is in 1814, when he was posted to Zurich, Switzerland. He served in Copenhagen, Denmark, later in 1821-2.

Bristol has sent out two good Pamphlets against the Catholic claims[120] one by Mr. Seyer,[121] the other by a Mr. Thorpe[122] a dissenting Minister written with great spirit.

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[120] For Catholic civil rights. This was a recurring issue in Great Britain from the turn of the century until the early 1830s.

[121] Seyer's association with Cadell and Davies, More's publishers, as well as his acquaintance with More and Addington, make his position against Catholic civil rights logical. I have not found evidence that this particular pamphlet of Seyer's or Thorpe's pamphlet have survived.

[122] The NUC lists the Rev. William Thorpe, born in 1780; it also records Thorpe's 1814 edition of his work "An Address to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland on the subject of Catholic emancipation . . . illustrative of the real object of the Irish Roman Catholic leaders." Attached to the third edition of this work was ". . . an account of the constitution and crimes of the Society of Jesuits." Perhaps the first edition of Thorpe's work was published in 1813 when More mentions it.

23. To Mr. Addington 28 March 1813

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Honble J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

I take the liberty you are so good as to allow me. You have only to consign the letters to the twopenny -- except Miss Roberts's[123] which you will have the goodness to send with your own letters to the general Post, but on no account take the trouble to frank it.

It is long since we have heard of your private well being, of your public well doing almost every newspaper informs us. How willing Providence has shown itself to help those who help themselves! May it be the favoured lot of those who made the short peace of Amiens[124] to obtain a long peace for the world!!

We all desire to be kindly and respectfully remembered to Mrs. Addington. Beg tell her that miscreant Hunt[125] entered Bristol Monday in a Phaeton and Six on which was inscribed "foiled but not defeated" -- He told his deluded champions the Mob that he had a little Son a fine fellow whom he had obliged to swear (I suppose he would have said like Hannibal[126] if he had ever heard of him) to perpetuate his principles. His wickedness however produced the good effect of uniting in one determined Phalanx all the friends of Loyalty, between whom there might otherwise have been some shades of difference.

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[123] Two daughters of William Roberts (1767-1849) who was editor of The British Review from 1811 to 1822. Roberts is noted for having had a literary quarrel with Byron and for publishing Memoirs of Hannah More in 1834. His daughters were close to More, often staying at Barley Wood.

[124] The short peace was achieved while Henry Addington was Prime Minister. It lasted from 25 March, 1802 to 18 May, 1803.

[125] See letter No. 13.

Alas for popery[127] and my papistical friends!! I have this moment received a present of a large book on their side from the Cliffords of Devonshire[128] -- but they have assailed in me a strong heretic.

But I forget how important are your moments -- and will release you with the assurance of my being my dear Sir Your faithful and obliged H. More

---

[126] Hannibal made his son swear destruction to Rome. More is mocking Hunt by presuming his lack of classical knowledge with this comment.

[127] More refers here to Henry Grattan's bill for Catholic relief, initially carried by a majority of the House, but ultimately defeated. See letter No. 16.

[128] I have found no record of the this book from the Cliffords of Devonshire. There is listed a Sir Augustus William James Clifford (1788-1877) who could have written such a work in More's time. His "Sketch of the life of the Sixth Duke of Devonshire" was published in 1861.

24. To Mr. Addington 1 May 1813

Endorsed name, date. Thompson cites part of this letter.

My dear Sir

Allow me to return you my very cordial thanks and those of the whole family for your most kind and friendly sympathy. It is pleasant to see that the oppressive might of publics does not stifle the operation of the tender social feelings where they are planted deeply in the heart.

My poor sister's ^end^[129] was as beautiful as could be desired. I never saw death more divested of his terrors. Tho reduced to infant weakness, she dined down stairs five days before her death. Her sufferings were graciously mitigated by almost incessant sleep. She had frequent wanderings but in every clear interval she expressed not merely a willingness but patience to be relieved. She liked to talk of death and selected herself, the poor men who should convey her to her "narrow cell." This has left us an example of patience and submission which I hope we may not soon forget.[130]

As to myself, I have had so bad a winter that I am prevailed on to accept the pressing invitation of my delightful friend Lady Olivia Sparrow[131] to pay her (with my Sister Martha) a visit of a few weeks at Brompton Park near Huntingdon. I have said all I can to make her repent of her kind compulsion, but as she will be burdened she must take the Consequences.

---

[129] More's eldest sister, Mary, died on Easter Sunday in April, 1813. At nineteen years of age, Mary had established a boarding school in Bristol. The four other More sisters became involved as students, teachers and administrators (Demers, World, 4-5).

[130] Henry Thompson cites most of this paragraph in his Life of Hannah More. Thompson became More's elegist twenty years later.

I shall probably avail myself of your goodness by allowing my Sister to send a small parcel or two thro ^you^ thither, but I do not go these few days. The conclusion of your feeling letter is too solemn and affecting to be answered but by assuring you of my sensibility to the occasion.

With our united kind respects to Mrs. and Miss Addington I am ever my dear Sir

Y. faithfully obliged

H. More

Barley Wood May Day

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[131] Lady Olivia Sparrow of Brompton Park was the sister of the Earl of Gosford of the Irish peerage. See Lord Gosford, letter No. 25. Some letters from More to Lady Olivia (1812-18) are held in the British Library: Egerton MSS.

25. To Mr. Addington [May/June 1813]

No Address. Endorsed "Brompton Park/Wednesday."

My dear Sir

Inexpressible is the joy of my Sister and self at your delightful news,[132] and great our gratitude to the kind communicator. Lord Gosford,[133] (Lady Olivia's brother) who was waiting with deep depression to be summoned to Town to give his vote in the Lords is transported, so are the Daly's,[134] another great Irish Family -- They know feelingly the blessings of Popery. We sent your letter to Lord G.[135] to bed[136] this morning as our post arrives early, and it has been nothing but congratulation -- not so with Colonel Bathurst[137] who makes an agreeable addition to our party, "What makes Gosford smile makes Bathurst dumb." -

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[132] Grattan re-introduced his bill to remove civil and military disqualifications for Catholics from British establishments. Gazettes of 30 April, 11 May and 13 May, 1813, describe the strong opposition to Grattan's bill by MPs. On May 13, based on the argument that Catholic emancipation would ruin Protestant ascendancy in Ireland and that Catholics would overturn both Church and state, the bill was deferred.

[133] Archibald Acheson (1776-1849), second earl of Gosford in the Irish peerage.

[134] Denis Daly was an Irish politician who voted against independence. His son, Robert, graduated from Trinity College, Dublin in 1832 and later became a Bishop.

[135] Lord Gosford.

[136] The letter was sent so early that Lord G. would still have been in bed when he received it.

[137] Charles Bragge Bathurst had met John and Henry Addington at Winchester school. He became their brother-in-law when he married Charlotte, the youngest Addington sister.

- We endeavour to bear our prosperity with affected moderation.

In spite of this tirade my health is deplorable no ease by day and no rest by night -- and 150 miles from home!!![138] -- I was led to believe the journey would cure me -- I should have been wiser -- I have only been down twice, in near a fortnight to our pleasant party, our sweet hostess herself excelling in pleasantness.

I abuse your goodness in causing my little pacquets to pass thro your hands so often.

This is my greatest literary labour in three weeks --

Best respects to Mrs. A, from my dear

Sir your very highly obliged

H. More

Brompton Park/Wednesday

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[138] Distance between Lady Olivia Sparrow's home at Brompton Park near Huntingdon and Barley Wood, Somerset.

26. To Mr. Addington 27 June 1813

Endorsed name, date, "Try return this." Two page letter.

My dear Sir

To borrow the words of a Roman Poet to a Roman Minister "I should sin against the public convenience if I were to trouble you with my thanks every time you make us happy."[139] To be Roman again, I must decimate my acknowledgments, and thank you once for every ten Victories you report. I also think we must begin to confine bell ringing to every other Day, laurelling the Mail Coaches to three times a week and illuminations to once a fortnight. After all these daily and hourly excitements, I know not how we shall be able to bear the ennui and dulness of wishes and peace and security; we shall be in great danger of falling into the condition of a country one would not like to resemble whose character was "pride fullness of bread and abundance of idleness."[140] Astonishing events[141] succeed each other so rapidly that one has hardly time to reflect on the wonders of yesterday before those of today drive them out of one's head. Two days ago we were crowning our selves with Marigolds as the only orange looking thing we could procure, but Holland's already forgotten or merged in the mass of Universal success.

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[139] From Horace, Book II, Epistle I to Augustus. The line reads: "I should sin against the public weal if with long talk, O Caesar, I were to delay your busy hours" (See Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica, xxx).

[140] From Ezekiel 16:49.

[141] Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington (1814), led his forces to military victories in the Peninsula. As a climax, on 22 May, 1813, they defeated King Joseph (Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, who had been made King of Spain) at Victoria and forced the French across the Pyrenees.

These Groves of Laurel which all the heroes of the Continent are reaping will indeed be glorious if they lead as had they must, to the Olive.[142] I wish our Wellington[143] Dispatches looked as much as the Proclamations of the less enlightened Northern Conquerors look to Him who breaketh the bow and knappeth the spear in sunder.[144]

My dear Sir may it please God to make you and your friends the honoured instruments of making a sound peace; more durable I trust, but not more honourable or more necessary than the last. I always rejoiced in that peace of Amiens, because short as it was, it stopped the mouth of gainsayers at home, and showed the world that it was "our dear delight not Fleury's more."[145]

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[142] To peace. After the flood, the olive became a symbol of the reconciliation between God and man.

[143] The town of Wellington.

[144] More cites from the prayer-book translation of Psalm 46:9. The Psalm reads: "He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire." The prayer book replaces "cutteth" with "knappeth."

[145] Fleury was a French Cardinal and chief adviser to Louis XV from 1726-43. He was well known for his high moral principles and his desire to keep peace. The quotation is from

(continued...)

Your two Gazettes last night, so kindly sent, travelled over the village within an hour, so that you rejoyce many hearts beside that of my dear

Sir Your most obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley Wood
Saturday

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[145] (...continued)
Alexander Pope's The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace. The full line reads: "Peace is my dear Delight -- not Fleury's more." (See The Twickenham Edition of The Poems of Alexander Pope, Vol IV, 75.)

27. To Miss Addington 18 September [1813]

Unendorsed. Addressed to Langford Court/Fancy "z" separates name and location and also follows location. Black wax seal.

WRINGTON

My dear Miss Addington

I hope you understood that I was at Mr. Davis's at Welton[146] when your very obliging and kind present was brought. Since I came home I have had such a severe pain in my head as not to be able to hold a pen. I beg you to accept my best thanks for a drawing so interesting in the Subject, and so very pleasing in the creation. I have indeed a kind of enthusiasm about Lynmouth[147] as one has about Switzerland without having seen either; and your elegant pencil will serve to give me a better and more lively idea of it, than any written or verbal description could have done. I do not much delight in picturesque poetry; because if it is minute it is apt to be tiresome and if general it conveys no precise ideas. To do this the pencil is a much more efficient implement than the pen.

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[146] Probably a short form of Wellington, a town in Somerset. There is also a Wellington Farm located near the town of Cheddar.

[147] A beauty spot on the North Devon coast. Lynmouth became a popular visiting place at the beginning of the nineteenth century when English travellers were unable to visit the continent during the Napoleonic wars.

Please to tell Mrs. Addington that I am sorry not to have Mad. de Stael to lend her,[148] I only borrowed it for a short time of Dr. Randolph. Next week I hope to send you the third vol. of Mrs. Montagu's Letters,[149] which Mrs. Montagu[150] has sent me.

With my best respects to Mrs. A. and your brother[151]

I am my dear Miss Addington, your much obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley Wood
18 Sep^br^

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[148] De l'Allemagne was published in Paris and London in 1813. In letter No. 32 below, More mentions that she might be receiving a visit from Madame de Stael. Perhaps de Stael will present More with her own copy of De l'Allemagne when she visits. de Stael also published, in March of 1813, "An appeal to the nations of Europe against the continental system" at Stockholm and London. It is possible that More refers to this 64 page appeal, but more likely that she refers to De l'Allemagne.

[149] Published by Matthew Montagu, her nephew and executor, The Letters of Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu Part the Second: Vol. III. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1813.

[150] Matthew Montagu's wife.

[151] Henry Unwin could be visiting from abroad, or this could be a reference to the enigmatic Haviland.

28. To Mrs. Addington 30[152] November 1813

Endorsed name, date. Seal.

My dear Madam

I will not detain your servant longer than to thank you for your kind attention to our pleasure and information. I join heartily in all you say of the Enemy of Mankind[153] -- I think it is become usual to designate him by that term which used to mean the Devil.

I was going to send to know how your rheumatism was but Mrs. Gordon[154] is just arrived -- tho sister to Whitbread, she is so different in politics that she would not let her son go to Eton because his was there.

Yrs ever H.M.

I think you wished for the [seal covers word] vol again.

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[152] The elderly Mary Addington may have mistaken the date of this letter in which Mrs. Gordon arrives. For she endorses the next letter in which Mrs. Gordon leaves with the date, November, 1813 which could not be later than the 30th. Perhaps this letter was a bit earlier.

[153] Napoleon Bonaparte.

[154] A friend of More. Mrs. Gordon's brother, Samuel Whitbread, (1764-1815) was a Whig politician who was educated at Eton. Whitbread opposed Pitt's government. His sister's political views appear to align with More's Tory, conservative position.

29. To Mrs. Addington November 1813

Endorsed name, date.

My dear Madam

Lord Orford[155] has but one vol. of letters, which I have lent to Mr. Davis, you shall have it when it comes home -- en attendant I have sent you some of his other things.

I return with thanks the valuable foreign letter.[156]

You do not say how your leg is --

Mrs. Gordon has left us. Tho dinner is on the table I must tell you a trick of Whitbread -- She said to him "well Sam what say you to ministers now?" Nay said he why they have done so well, that I would not turn them out if it was in my power.

H. More

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[155] Horace Walpole was a prolific writer in many genres who corresponded with More for over twenty years. His "Memoirs" (ironically presented) of King George II (1822), his popular novel, The Castle of Otranto (1765), and at least six editions of his play, The Mysterious Mother; a tragedy (1768-98) are a few of his works. Walpole died in 1797 and his "Works" including letters to Hannah More were published in May, 1798. More's Pickersgill portrait appeared in this volume and she received a copy of the volume as a present. She was, however, upset that her letters were published without her permission. There is no record of a new edition of Walpole's works in 1813; Mrs. Addington must have requested More's 1798 copy.

[156] Most likely from Henry Unwin Addington on the Continent.

30. To Mr. Addington 16 December 1813

Endorsed, name, date. Addressed to "Right Honble J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

It is some comfort to me to know that you have only to break the seal of this envelope and distribute its contents for the 2^d^ [twopenny] Post without a word of writing. A propos of writing -- glad as I always am of the least sign from your hand, let me earnestly beg you not to think it necessary to answer any little scrawl I may trouble you with. The last merely conveyed my Thanks and by no means required the kind notice you favoured it with.

Glutted as we are with news we are so insatiable as to be craving for more "Increase of appetite doth grow with what it feeds on."[157]

We had concluded that these military arrangements would fall heavily on your head.

I have made the Miss Roberts very happy with your respect of their brother. One of the baits we have had to keep them a little longer is the hope of meeting you.

Yours dear sir

most truly

H. More

B. Wood

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[157] One year and one day earlier, More used this same quotation from Shakespeare's Hamlet in a letter to John Addington.

16 dec^er^

31. To Mrs. Addington 3 January 1814

Endorsed, name, date. Addressed to Langford Court. Black wax seal.

My dear Madam

I think it is a good providential rule not to lose anything for want of asking for -- So tho your statesman[158] who we expected was come for a month, struck me dumb when he said he was only to come for ten days so that in a fit of modesty I did not dare ask him to favour us with one out of this but ten; yet I now take courage to ask if you have not this one to spare, and if you have will you graciously bestow it on us? Any day the latter end of this week or the beginning of the next we shall be most happy to to see your little party to a little dinner at 4 o clock. I am sorry to say our amiable friends are just leaving us, they much regret not to have seen you. But our servants going a Christmassing, and my sister B.[159] having been keeping her bed some days has obliged us to defer requesting the favour I at present solicit. I am My dear madam

yours very faithfully

H. More

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[158] Henry Unwin Addington home from abroad for Christmas.

[159] Elizabeth (Betty) More was second eldest of the five sisters. Patricia Demers describes Elizabeth's role at Mary More's first school in Bristol as the "housekeeper" in contrast to Mary's role as Principal (Demers, World, 5). She was the most domestic of the sisters, supervising needlework and the domestic economy of the Mendip schools.

32. To Mr. Addington 9 March 1814

Two page letter on 2 disjoined sheets. Endorsed, name, date.

My dear Sir

Some body says he that is ungrateful has no other sin. You will have thought me most undeserving of your kind attention in sending me a very meritorious poem when I have been so long without thanking you for it. But you are now a little acquainted with my frugal ways of thanking you for so many favours ^at once^ by way of saving you the trouble of acknowledgments.

To speak the truth, and you would find me out if I did not -- Pray observe I am not undervaluing the poem you sent, which has a great deal of merit, besides its piety which is the greatest -- I do believe that when it arrived, had the tempting packet contained a twenty fifth Iliad dug out of the Troade by Lord Byron or Dr. Clarke, I should have been disappointed,[160] so flatteringly did the shape and size of the cover seem to announce a few Gazettes Extraordinary.

You see dear Sir, what it is to have been so long glutted by your kindness with with [crossed out] the most solid food; and poetry, tho an exquisite ^desert^ does not exactly supply the mouth wide open for a substantial dinner.

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[160] More is disappointed to find literature, even if it were a new literary discovery, when she was wants to receive political news such as that reported by the Gazettes.

We are now in common with the whole Empire, anxiously waiting the event,[161] I will not so much say, which the Allies, but which Providence is preparing for us. I feel for your nerves during this trying suspense. In the mean time let us be thankful for the monies we have.[162] Our wheat for which we paid 20 shill last year we now get for ten. If every body is to be grateful in proportion to their benefits, I think my old acquaintance Mr. Atwright shall never be off his knees, as I am assured he has already cleared ^£^600,000 since the restoration of trade!!

I suppose you have no time for such idle business, but I dare say Mrs. Addington would not for the world be so far out of the fashion as not to be reading Madame de Stael. I have had a present of her Allemagne.[163] It shows an uncommon compass of knowledge ^and^ great brilliancy of expression, but I am floundering hitherto among German Divines, et malheureusement je n'ai pas la Tete Metaphysique. I have not seen this Lady since she was 15; when she accompanied her father and mother with whom I was much acquainted in London. She was then too young to ^be^

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[161] Peace terms with Napoleon were being negotiated.

[162] A successful harvest caused a glut of corn; extremely cheap imports caused very low prices. However, Lord Sidmouth's Home Office intervened, restricting corn imports, so that the prices did not drop as much as the poor had anticipated. This action resulted in protests against the government's interference.

[163] Published in 1813.

brought out. Those good Neckers had a little Swiss phlegm about them I think for they used to provoke me when Garrick[164] was acting the finest scenes in Lear or Hamlet, their eyes were fastened to a copy of the Play, which they always brought in their hand. Mr. Necker was a sensible unaffected thinking, but not brilliant ^man^. She was rather shining but it was the brightness of tinsel -- recherchee, affected, always aiming at point, and turn -- and ingenuity. I was then too young to be a very sound judge, but she always put me in mind of Molière's Précieuse.[165] And also if what Lord H(?)m(?)rd told me he heard when he was Ambassador at Paris from some old French wits, who, describing the constraint and affectation of the literary society at the Hotel de Rambouillet, assured him that when two gentlemen got free from their studied wit, one said to the other by way of indulgence, mon cher ami faisons des solecismes!

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[164] David Garrick (1717-1779) was a pupil of Samuel Johnson's at Edial. He left Lichfield and went to London with Johnson in 1737. Garrick became a popular stage actor, playing many roles from Shakespeare. In 1777, Garrick, as manager of Drury Lane, was instrumental in having Hannah More's tragedy, Percy, produced for the stage. He wrote the prologue and epilogue and played the lead role. More became great friends with Garrick and his wife; she stayed at their London home when she frequently travelled there from Bristol in the 1770s. More published her poem, Ode to Dragon (1777), in honour of the Garricks' dog.

[165] Les Précieuses ridicules, a comedy first performed in Paris in 1659. It means "The High-Brow Ladies" and was temporarily banned by the upper classes, who believed that their women had been laughed at. More ridicules Mrs. Necker with her mention of this play.

Mr. and Mrs. Huber[166] which Mrs. Addington once met here, have been staying with their one near connexions [sic] of the Neckers -- they tell me that Made. de Stael threatens me with the honour of a visit. With best respects to Mrs. and Miss A. --

I am ever my dear Sir

Yr. very obliged
and faithful
H. More

Barley Wood 9 March

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[166] See below, letter No. 64.

33. To Mr. Addington [March 1814]

Endorsed name, day of the week. Red wax seal. Two sides blank except for wax. Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble^/ JH Addington."

My dear Sir

I return you many thanks for the profit and pleasure here rec^d from a perusal of Lord Sidmouth's very sensible, upright, and convincing speech.[167] I trust you will forgive my detaining it to show it to a friend. It ought to be generally read.

May I take the liberty to request you to direct the two inclosed Letters any vacant day you may have?

I have been better than usual last night and this morning, and am with best regards to Mrs. Addington

My dear Sir
Your very obliged
and faithful - -
H. More

Thursday
B. Wood

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[167] More could mean Sidmouth's defence of the Corn Laws which effected protection from cheap foreign imports of corn and forced the price of bread up in Britain. There had been much opposition to Sidmouth's Home Office strategy. See also, letter No. 32 above.

34. To Mrs. Addington 13 April 1814

Endorsed, name, date.

My dear Madam

How shall I thank you for your kindness? My mind was not steady enough, nor my head rational enough to write one line last night as I wished to do, by way of emptying the overflowings of my joy -- While I read your Messengers Gazettes, and Patty your printed Gazette almost at the same time, disturbing each other with crying out -- Oh hear _me_ -- no mind _me_, then came your inclosure which was quite the _clincher_ --[168] Sally ran to the Almanac to cut out the Monster's Name from the list of Sovereigns, where, if I had been _superintendent_ of the Press it never should have found a place. My head is still so confused that I have only a vague indistinct sentiment of joy and gratitude; and such a whirl did the news give to my Spirits that after your dispatches had been read twice, I found my head not capacious enough to take in all the variety of perspectives it contained. --

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[168] Napoleon Bonaparte abdicated under pressure from his marshalls and the senate at Paris on 30 March 1814. The _London Gazettes_ published dispatches of 19 March and 20 March, from the battleground, describing military conflicts and listing the number of British and Portuguese casualties in the final conflict. (_Gentleman's Magazine_, May, 1814).

I used to admire the famous old book Wanley's Wonders[169] -- but what does that contain to [word obscured] compared with Taillerand[170] and Sièyes[171] become friends of order and good Government?

As to the wretched being who has caused all these calamities, from which God has so graciously rescued the world, I did not think I should live to despise as well as hate him, but he has rounded the vices of his character by the addition of the only one I thought he wanted -- abject cowardice.

May it please God to make our gratitude bear some proportion to his Mercies.

We are much pleased with Your Anecdote of Dss. of Oldenburgh.[172] Is not her brother Alexander[173] the

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[169] Nathaniel Wanley (1634-1680). Wonders of the Little World: The history of man: or, the Wonders of human nature, in relation to the virtues, vices and defects of both sexes. More probably read the work when she was a girl.

[170] M. Talleyrand-Perigord, the Bishop of Autun, a great public figure in France and the addressee of Mary Wollstonecraft's Dedication to A Vindication of the Rights of Woman in 1792. Talleyrand, a corrupt turncoat, was excommunicated when he proposed that the vast properties of the Roman Church in France be turned over to the state. He repeatedly switched his loyalties between the French monarchy and the first revolutionary governments and then Napoleon.

[171] More means Sièyes, who had fought for the French Republic in 1792. Like Talleyrand, he later changed his political views.

[172] Catharine, [Countess Romanoff], sister of Alexander, Tsar of Russia, married into the German aristocracy. She had arrived in London the week previous and had been met by representatives of the Prince Regent. Mrs. Addington must have (continued...)

Greater? Best respects and thanks without number to Mr. A. who I hope is as well as happiness can make him.

With love to Miss A. I am dear Madam

Your very obliged
and faithful
H. More

B Wood Monday

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[172] (...continued) related to Hannah More some interesting information about the Duchess.

[173] Alexander, Tsar of Russia, grandson of Catherine the Great, was at Paris for the overthrow of Napoleon. He led the Allies -- Russia, Prussia, and Austria - - into the city.

35. To Mr. Addington 18 May 1814

Endorsed, name, date. Addressed to the "Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

I avail myself of your goodness to beg the favour of your forwarding the enclosed To the Rev. T. Gisborne[174]

Yonell Lodge
Lichfield

As to the wonders of the last month, it is a subject I dare not tap, as it would run sans fin et sans cesse to your no small annoyance. I should fancy it was a dream but that it has lasted so long as to leave behind it a sober certainty of waking bliss.[175]

I congratulate you dear Sir, and your noble brother, on having been among the honoured instruments in bringing about this great work.[176] I was pleased with Mr. Wilberforce[177] when he sent me word the peace was signed "that he believed it was much owing to the blessing of God on the exertions of a virtuous Ministry".

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[174] See letter No. 7 above.

[175] From John Milton's The Mask of Comus. The lines read: But such a sacred and home-felt delight,/ Such sober certainty of waking bliss,/ I never heard till now . . . (262-4).

[176] The end of Napoleon. He abdicated his role as Emperor of France on 6 April, 1814. He was banished to the island of Elba, in the Mediterranean Sea, between Corsica and the coast of Tuscany. He was guarded from attack or escape by four hundred soldiers, but he escaped the following February.

[177] William Wilberforce (1759-1833) a philanthropist, politician and very strong supporter of More and her works. He was instrumental in the founding of the two great Bible Societies at the turn of the century: Church Missionary in 1798 and the Bible Society in 1803.

I should like to take a peep at Alexander[178] who has practiced magnanimity on a grander scale than any my scanty reading has presented.

I was amused with an account of Jeffrey,[179] Editor of the Edinburgh Review, a man very hostile to the Government and Religious Establishment of this Country. He is just returned from America where he has been to fetch a wife and went full of admiration for that detestable country.[180] What he saw however it seems has cured him, both of his fondness for the place and its dark past. Madison[181] asked him with great eagerness what the people of England said of the American War Jeffrey cooly replied I dont believe half England has ever heard of it.

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[178] See previous letter.

[179] Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850) was a Scottish judge and critic. He helped to establish The Edinburgh Review in 1802 and acted as editor from 1803-29. The DNB mentions his acquaintance with Sir Walter Scott and discusses their falling out over an editorial issue.

[180] America.

[181] James Madison (1751-1836), Republican politician elected President of the United States 1809 - 1817. Part of the "dark past" to which More refers includes Madison having advised Thomas Jefferson to bring about the Embargo Act of 1807 which called a halt to trade between Great Britain and America. This was particularly bad for Britain since America supplied the annual deficit of the British grain harvest. America resumed trade with France after Madison became President. Madison's government ultimately declared war on Great Britain in June of 1812. Because Madison felt that France did not threaten American independence as Great Britain did with its control of trade, the United States did not declare war on Napoleonic France. More's derogatory remark about Madison as Napoleon's slave also stems from these circumstances.

Apropos -- Much as I approve all that has been done at Paris I think I would have ^made^ one small improvement. I would have exchanged the pleasant Island of Elbe for the barren one of the Steep Holmes,[182] and made Madison Bonaparte's Mammaluke[183] -- I hope Mrs. Addington will approve my amendment.

With my best respects to her, I remain dear Sir

Your obliged and
grateful H. More

Barley Wood
May 18

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[182] An island in the Bristol Channel called Steep Holme.

[183] Spelled Mameluke, slave.

36. To Mrs. Addington 1814

Seal. Endorsed, "1814/note."

My dear Madam

I am ashamed not to have returned your books. -- I think your young Gentry will like to look at Greece.[184] When you return it, I will send the Velvet Cushion[185] which is much read -- So! Cincinnatus is returned to his Plow![186] We hope to see him at his leisure. I wont detain your servant

Yours my dear Lady
very truly
H. More

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[184] Greece, a poem, by William Haygarth was published in 1814 in London. It contains notes along with classical illustrations, sketches and scenery which explains why More speaks of the young people looking at rather than reading this work.

[185] By J.W. Cunningham, printed for Cadell and Davies in London (1814). A tongue-in-cheek allegory in which the protagonist, the Vicar of a small parish church, examines with irony Catholicism and Protestantism. The imbedded narrator, the Vicar's velvet cushion, makes such statements as "the Bible and Popery do not very strictly harmonize" (16).

[186] Roman hero, served as Consul in 460 BC then returned to work his farm. In 458 he was appointed dictator for sixteen days in order to deal with hostilities; again, he returned to his farm. More compliments John Addington with this analogy.

37. To Mr. John Addington 14 June 1814

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

I believe that you statesmen generally find the conferring one favour is immediately followed by the solicitation of another. Indeed I feel ashamed during this London vertigo to ask the favour of your hand to another pacquet to the Rev. T. Gisborne Yonell Lodge

Litchfield -

Your most kind note was interesting in the highest degree. I have not had in any of the descriptions so graphical a view of the Potentates and heroes as you have ^drawn^ [given - stroked out] you have given me a characteristic sketch -- I would almost know them.

I really pity Lord Sidmouth[187] for his most laborious and oppressive honours. The being saluted is surely a very marked distinction -- so far one is pleased with the appointment -- but tho I am rather inclined to think, contrary to the general opinion, that men of the best sense do ^even^ common things better than other men, yet one feels it a waste, when such men as his Lordship are appointed to offices not purely intellectual. I conceive too that his Lordship's brother had rather ^have^ been fishing in Congresbury River[188] or exploring the valley of Stones,[189] than glistening in these Royal Pageants. I am not sorry however at these splendid festivities, (as they are not to last always) as they will impress the illustrious foreigners with a good notion of our wealth and taste. I hope too that Siberia and Tartary[190] may fare the better for some hints on trade ^laws^ and Government, that the Emperor may pick up. I beg you will not think of answering my notes -- Your time is so much better employed that you must not even apologize for not answering them. I am my dear sir

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[187] John Addington's brother, Henry, was created First Viscount Sidmouth on 5 January 1805. On this occasion, Sidmouth's position as Home Secretary led to his being appointed to attend Emperor Alexander of Russia and the King of Prussia on their post-war visit to England beginning 7 June, 1814. As well as joining them in the victory parade, Sidmouth spent much time with Alexander discussing English and Russian law. (Ziegler, Addington, 334).

Yours most faithfully

B Wood 14 June H. More

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[188] Cungresberie is listed in the Domesday survey of 1086. Congresbury is less than five miles from Wrington. A river of the same name is as accessible to Addington, near his home. He is home during the "London Vertigo" as More notes in her previous letter, just like Cincinnatus.

[189] I have not found such a place so far. I suspect that because of the limestone geological features of this area of England, there are many places that could be so named.

[190] The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia both arrived in England on 7 June 1814. The two places that More mentions are in the dominions of the Emperor of Russia.

38. To Mrs. Addington [June 1814]

Unendorsed. Tiny note.

My dear Madam

I should think it a sin to detain from you a moment the delightful letter which I inclose -- Pray return by bearer [added "my maid Mary who waits for it"] I have read it in a hurry -- It is written with very superior judgment and discrimination and with his usual delicacy he has said not a word of his own kindness in the engraving.

Many thanks for your excellent fruit which has been a great refreshment to me. The Bible Meeting[191] is deferred to the Tuesday the 29th.

With my best regards to Miss Addington I am ever

my dear Madam
Your obliged
and faithful
H. More

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[191] Hosted each year in July at Barley Wood after More established a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1814. See also letter No. 73 below. In a letter of June, 1814 to Lady Olivia Sparrow More describes "our little annual Wrington Bible meeting next Tuesday" (Roberts II, 200).

39. To Mr. Addington 18 August 1814

Endorsed name, date.

[no salutation]

A thousand thanks my dear Sir for the valuable deposit, which shall be returned tomorrow.

Perhaps you would like to run over in your Travelling Carriage[192] the first article in the Edin. Review.[193] I hear it is not quite a Crane Neck turning, but inclining that way -- I have not read it myself; I so dislike the principle of this Review that my curiosity will keep till you return, as I hope from London in the words of my old friend Soame Jenyns[194]

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[192] For his trip to London, Addington would be travelling in a four-wheeled, enclosed carriage. As an upper-class family, the Addingtons would have had a family carriage such as a barouche, a landau or at the least a two-wheeled curricle pulled by one or two horses.

[193] The Edinburgh Review was published in April and September in 1814. More refers to the first article of Volume XLV (45), of the Quarterly publication, by W. Sotheby, esq. dated 5 May, 1814. Amongst many proclamations, the author says that Napoleon is to be "dreaded and abhorred, but scarcely, we think to be despised by men of the ordinary standard" (4). He also states that "the liberty of the people is necessary to the stability of the throne" (25) in his long discussion of the state of the French people following Napoleon's overthrow at Paris earlier that year. More would disapprove of both of these statements and probably of many other views in this article.

[194] The lines read: "We home return, a wond'rous token/ Of heaven's kind care, with limbs unbroken." They are from Jenyns' satiric poem, An Epistle, Written in the Country, to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Lovelace then in Town. (See Poems, 38). Limbs and necks are at risk when a drunken coachman races his gentry passengers home "o'er hillocks, ruts and stones" after a wild party at the home of the neighbouring Knight. More

(continued...)

a wondrous token
of heavn's kind care with necks unbroken

Most faithfully
Yours
H. More

I took a great liberty with you this morning before I rec^d^ your favour

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[194] (...continued)
makes use of the hilarity of Jenyns' message that the passengers are lucky to be alive after their experience in their travelling carriage. Addington would have enjoyed More's joke.

40. To Mr. Addington 18 August 1814

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

Tho I do not relish politics as well as description, nor enjoy the Imperial carving out Provinces as much as the natural distribution of scenery, yet I can see the talent of the describer in both genres. The same fund of good sense which is the basis of taste in the one instance is visible in the sound principle and just remarks in the other.

Owen Cambridge[195] used to check my early admiration of certain characters that had more splendour than virtue ^by saying^ that he had a natural antipathy to a hero as some men "have to a cat." I have long been getting used to his opinion and this new instance of unfairness inclines me to fear I shall be driven peu a peu to add Alexander[196] to the unprincipled gang of conquerors, from which I have tried to separate him.

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[195] Richard Owen Cambridge (1717-1802) published satirical verses (1752-6) and a History of the War Upon the Coast of Coromandel in 1761. The Reverend George Owen Cambridge (1756-1841), his son, was the Archdeacon of Middlesex. Either of the Cambridges could be the subject of More's remark.

[196] Tzar of Russia. More probably had heard that during the peace negotiations at Vienna, the governments of England and Prussia wanted to move Napoleon from Elba because they believed him to be a threat. "Alexander said nothing" (Napoleon, 478).

I return with many thanks these very informing dispatches, tho they have abated my comfort in proportion as they have cooled my zeal.

Still Harassed with cough and a low fever, which these damps do not mend.

With best respects to Mrs. A. and hearty wishes for better weather for your excursion I am my dear

Sir Yours truly

obliged H. More

41. To Mr. Addington 10 September 1814

Endorsed name, date. Red wax seal. No salutation.

You are too good to us my dear Sir, and we feel your kindness very sensibly. -- I am very sorry you are, this fine weather, obliged to leave your fine lawn, your rides, and your pleasant family Society, for what Will Honeycombe[197] calls "the sin and Sea coal[198] of London".

It is not the least to be regretted among the infirmities of age and sickness that [word crossed out] none of this family feels able to accept the honour and pleasure to which you so kindly invite us, none of us being able to be out of an Evening.

The last moments are always particularly precious, yet methinks I should feel not a little sorry should I not be able to thank you in person for all your goodness to my dear Sir

Your very obliged
and faithful
H. More

Best respects
to Mrs Addington

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[197] A character in the Spectator essays of 1714.

[198] Coal was transported by sea.

42. To Mr. Addington 26 September 1814

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Hon. J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

You executed your obliging office in perfection, and your name and your letter are enrolled with their new Associates, and are to be sent down with them to that Royal person to whom Swift dedicated one of his works -- Prince Posterity.[199] -- In addition to the autographs you said you thought you would procure will you have the goodness to add that of a certain noble Viscount[200] and to obtain the favour of his connecting with his name The Peace of Amiens? Where such a fact can be produced we like to hitch it on to the name.

I feel ashamed to trouble you with this one more communication between Mr Gisborne and me. -- but -- alas! it is a deep and very new observation that in this world troubles never cease. As paper does not blush I must call to your remembrance what you once kindly said to me -- that if ever I obtruded any more scribble on the world (you did not say it precisely in those words) you would not only be the medium between me and Messrs. Cadell and Davies[201] previous to its appearance, but also my Gil Blas[202] after it had appeared. The superannuated Archbishopess[203] expects you will perform with religious fidelity this part of the engagement, and I undertake as far as human weakness can be undertaken for to receive your honest communication with more gratitude than my Episcopal Prototype received that of his faithful Secretary. Old men have sometimes written too long, and I fear I have given them occasion to say that Anilities[204] are worse than Senilities. Yours my dear Sir most

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[199] From Jonathan Swift's A Tale of a Tub (1697). Swift, however, addresses "His Royal Highness Prince Posterity" with extreme irony; More borrows the terms but not the irony.

[200] Lord Sidmouth.

[201] More's publishers. See letter No. 19.

faithfully H. More

B Wood 26 Sep.

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[202] By Alain René Le Sage. Most likely, More was familiar with Tobias Smollett's translation of 1748. The rogue hero of this early French novel recognizes that "statesmanship is rascality writ large" (Evans, Gil Blas, Introduction). More expects that Addington will take advantage of his connections to promote her work.

[203] Having been called a "Bishop in Petticoats" in her younger years, More jokes with Addington when she promotes herself to Archbishopess in her old age.

[204] In this context, an old woman's imbecilities.

43. To Mr. Addington 25 October 1814

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

If you are to suffer the teasing of a perpetual blister, pray observe it is of your own putting on. You are however the most disinterested blister-wearer I ever knew. All before who have submitted to this discipline have done it for their own benefit, while you ^generously^ suffering it for others, have all the torment and none of the profit.

I take the liberty to trouble you to convey to Messrs. Cadell and Davies the first portion of "An Essay on the Character and Practical Writings of Saint Paul."[205]

For the kindness of your forwarding it I will thank you now, for the kindness of your Criticisms, I will hope to thank you hereafter.

We are on tiptoe for news from Vienna.[206]

The ladies at Langford court quite well.

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[205] More published this work in early 1815. It reached five editions by 1819. This letter provides further evidence that Addington acted informally as an editor, as well as a medium of transportation, for at least some of More's later writings.

[206] Vienna replaced Paris as the capital of Europe after Napoleon's deposition. Although a number of treaties had already been signed between, for example, France and Spain (20 July, 1814), plenipotentiaries representing the European allies gathered in Vienna in late 1814 - 1815 in order to consolidate peace in Europe.

I do entreat, dear Sir that you will not think it pressing, engaged as your time is on affairs so important, to answer my frivolous notes. It is almost too much to expect that you should read them.

Mr. Inglis's Tour[207] thro the Elysian scenery of Switzerland made my mouth water, more than all the descriptions of all the Capitals, in the world -- and I envy your son[208] at Zurich more than Lord Castlereagh[209] at Vienna.

Yours ever my dear
Sir most gratefully
H. More

B. Wood 25 Oct.

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[207] Henry David Inglis (1795-1835) used a pseudonym, Derwent Conway, when he later published a work about his travels in Switzerland, the south of France, and the Pyrenees. It was published at Edinburgh by Constable & Co., in 1831. Evidently, More reads about Inglis' grand tour in letters, since he was only nineteen years of age at the time of this letter. More was well acquainted with his parents.

[208] Henry Unwin Addington.

[209] Robert Stewart (1769-1822), Viscount Castlereagh, a political ally of Lord Sidmouth. He led the House of Commons after Perceval's assassination in 1812 and was very active in international politics throughout the Napoleonic wars and after. He was a plenipotentiary at the 1814 Peace Congress in Vienna. Following the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, Percy Shelley faults Castlereagh for his political regression in The Mask of Anarchy. Shelley writes: "I met Murder on the way --/He had a mask like Castlereagh --" (Perkins, British Romantic Writers, 1020).

44. To Mrs. Addington [Late 1814]

Endorsed: "Mrs. H. More." Tiny note. No seal.

My dear Madam

I return your prints with many thanks. They have enabled us to entertain some friends who were worthy of them.

I think the inclosed letters are within; the part of a letter from Dk. of W.[210] may move you.

When do you expect Mr. A? I take the liberty to ask because I wish before he leaves town to avail myself of the privilege he kindly gives me to send a parcel thro his potent Frank to my Bookseller.

Miss Roberts' grievous wounds[211] thank God are healed. My slight ones do not so soon give way -- They are only inconvenient. Yours

my dear Madam

very sincerely

H. More

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[210] Duke of Wellington.

[211] Late in 1814 More's clothes caught fire; one of the Miss Roberts rescued her. More's arm and shoulder were quite scorched while Miss Roberts' hands were badly burned; Miss Roberts' ring had to be sawed off. (Thompson, Life, 266-7). It is interesting that More minimizes her own injuries and focuses on those of the very much younger Miss Roberts.

45. To Mr. Addington 2 January 1815

Endorsed name, date. Red wax seal.

My dear Sir

I must confess my malefactions to you. My printer Mr. Strachan[212] who is an M.P. regularly franks down a certain book in single sheets. He is now out of town for a week and I ventured to direct his agent to inclose 3 or so at once to you, but not to send more than once. Presuming you received it last night I send to enquire this early that I may re-convey it by to day's

post. If you have it not, give yourself no trouble ^[line crossed off] but if you have, will you have the goodness to favour me by the bearer not only with the pacquet but with one of your potent Franks for today Jan 2 -- to Cadell and Davies. On second thoughts if you have nothing for me please to direct, the Cover for Jan 9.

I feel sensibly your kindness and fear to abuse it. -- We are drawing near to a close to my great joy for your sake as well as my own. I hope your nerves stand all these vicissitudes of weather. With my best respects to Mrs. Addington and my cordial wishes that you may both long enjoy the blessings of this hallowed season. I am ever my dear Sir very

faithfully your

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[212] William Strahan, who was also the printer of Samuel Johnson.

much obliged

H. More

B Wood

Jan 2 Peace with all the world![213] I wish you joy.

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[213] More refers to an optimistic outcome from the Peace Congress at Vienna.

46. To Mrs. Addington 9 January 1815

Endorsed name, date. Red wax seal.

My dear Madam

As Christmas is peculiarly the time for doing charitable deeds, it will be acting quite in the spirit of the season if you and Mr. Addington will do so dull a thing as, on the score of charity, to eat your dinner with our invalid family party, either on thursday or friday next as shall best suit you, at the Antediluvian[214] hour of four, which to your Statesman at least, who is used to the modish hours will be déjeune [sic] a la fourchette.[215] We hope that Mr. H. and Miss Addington are at home and will favour us with their company. I am ever

my dear Madam
Your very obliged
and faithful
H. More

B Wood
Monday morn

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[214] Old-fashioned.

[215] More describes her very early dinner as "lunch with a fork."

47. To Mr. Addington 20 March 1815

Endorsed name, date. This letter was docketed with those to Mrs. Addington.

B. Wood

My dear Sir March 20

I should not for one moment have delayed to express to you my joy and gratitude, but that the excess of the one quite incapacitated me from expressing the other. A thousand thanks, for your kindness in thinking of us at such a moment, and for delivering us from a state nearly approaching to despondency. Your blessed news[216] really agitated me so much that my hand was too unsteady to hold a pen. I will not take up more of your time. [words obscured by wax] Best respects to Mrs. A.

Ever dear Sir your most
obliged & faithful H.
More

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[216] At this time British MP's were deciding to oppose Napoleon once again, following his escape from Elba the previous month. Each of England, Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed to field 150,000 armed men until Napoleon could be discounted as a threat.

48. To Mr. Addington 22 April [1815]

Endorsed name, month, day. Tiny note.

My dear Sir

The only apology I can make for the present intrusion on your weighty cares is, that you will have only to break the seal, and scatter the inclosures on the wings of the 2 post, to the four winds. We are out of breath with expectation. Sir T. Acland writes me that Duke of Wellington's prophecy is -- "War short but bloody."[217] The second clause is inevitable God grant the first may be verified. Best respects to Mrs. A. Yours ever my dear Sir all I see love you ever. H. More

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[217] Preparations for the inevitable military confrontation with Napoleon were in progress. Wellington had been called back from Vienna to head the British army.

49. To Mr. Addington 30 May 1815

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Hon. J. H. Addington."

My dear Sir

I who have conscientiously forborne to trouble you even to break a seal and disperse my troublesome inclosures, now beg a greater favour. My friends Mr. and Mrs. Huber[218] were allowed by Mr. G. Canning[219] to send me a letter to your address, by his Courier, saying I might take the liberty to return an answer by the same, and that Mr. C. would send it to St. Gal[220] in one day. Pray ensure this. Mr. Huber had waited on Mr. H. Addington at Zurich but had not found him. Mr. H. adds "he is much liked by everybody".

To think that I should live to be pleased with Lord Grenville and Mr. Grattan![221] But this is the age of Revolution.

I fear you are overworked and will stop my pen after presenting best respects to Mrs. Addington.

Yours my dear Sir

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[218] See letter No. 64 below.

[219] See letter No. 66 below.

[220] Unidentified.

[221] William Wyndham, MP, was created Lord Grenville in 1790. He was Prime Minister 1806-7. Henry Grattan was an MP who founded the Dublin Whig Club; he was responsible for regularly reintroducing the issue of Catholic emancipation. Both Grenville and Grattan supported the continuance of war, which is likely why More is so pleased with them in spite of their Whig partisanship.

most faithfully

B. Wood H. More

30 May

50. To Mrs. Addington 23 June 1815

Endorsed name, date. Smudged -- evidence of seal?

No salutation.

A million of thanks my dear Madam for your joyful sorrowful, dreadful glorious News! Gratitude to heaven and sympathy with the mourners divide one's feelings. But tis, a most splendid Victory![222] --

A very wet Hay making keeps us from waiting on you. When it lets up we cant get the Horses, when it rains we are afraid to stir.

very gratefully Yours

HM

June 23 1815

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[222] The combined forces of the British, Dutch, Russian, and Austrian armies, led by the Duke of Wellington, defeated Napoleon's army in a three day battle at Waterloo, June 16,17 and 18, 1815 (John Keegan, The Face of Battle, 1976).

51. To Miss Addington [1815]

No endorsement, address or salutation. Seal.

No apologies my dear Miss Addington to one who is always happy to oblige Mrs. A. Many thanks for the hare[223] and especially for your repeated good news of your pappa.

We have been much entertained this morning by Mr Hart Davies[224] just come from Paris where his chief delight was to watch the taking down and packing of all the fine pictures.[225] He says all the losses and all the disgraces they have sustained have never mortified and humbled the French like this privation. -- D. [ie Duke of] Wellington told him at his own table that 100,000 French fell at Waterloo that the English convoy was only 58,000!![226]

Yours ever with best respects to Mr. A. -- and compliments to Mrs. A.

H. More

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[223] Hare was game; it was hunted legally by only the aristocracy and gentry until 1831.

[224] More's neighbour.

[225] Napoleon had looted works of art during his time in power; the stolen paintings were being returned to their owners. In 1816, Felicia Hemans published a poem entitled "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy."

[226] More is misinformed. There were about 25,000 French casualties.

52. To Mr. Addington [July 1815]

Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

I take a tiny bit of paper lest I be tempted to be further troublesome than to request the favour of your directing the St. Albans letter.

I am much obliged by Miss Addington's kind note. Hatchard[227] wrote very promptly to say that Mr. Addington had condescended to call himself to say my letter was in time. I long to hear that your ancles have recovered their strength.

We are all delighted at dear Sir Thomas Acland's speech.[228] It was all I could wish. Nor can we but be pleased with Lord Grenville.[229]

But I am resolved to check my disposition to talk, and will only beg you to present me to Mrs. and Miss Addington and to believe that I am with much faith dear Sir

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[227] Printers and booksellers.

[228] On 3 July, 1815, Acland, along with William Wilberforce and others, opposed an Additional Allowance Bill for the Duke of Cumberland who had just been married to the Princess of Salms. The Prince Regent had requested this allowance in a message of June 27 to the House of Commons. Although I have not found a record of Acland's speech, the remarks of Wilberforce indicate that the opposed MPs did not want "to be betrayed into a sanction and approbation of that marriage" (Gentleman's Magazine, July-Dec 1815, 164). Hannah More must have held similar views about this issue.

[229] "Lord Grenville spoke warmly, and at length, in support of the measures of the Ministers, and of the late victory" (Gentleman's Magazine, July-Dec 1815, 163).

Your oblig^ed^ and faithful

H. More

We are all Property Taxes[230] ^folks^ and think ourselves very well let off.

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[230] There had been an attempt to renew property taxes in April of 1815, for one year, because money was needed to pay for the military costs of defending the Kingdom against the threat from Napoleon. However, after the Battle of Waterloo, in June, 1815, the bill did not get a second reading.

53. To Mrs. Addington 18 August 1815

A letter on a folded sheet -- very rare in this context. Evidence of seal. Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mrs. Addington/Langford Court."

Barley Wood 8
a dark Thursday
morning. --

My dear Madam

I feel that I am taking a very great liberty with you, it will be a proof of your goodness to me if you forgive it. We have been some time expecting Mr. Wilberforce[231] &c to stay a few days with us on his return from Devonshire; during his stay we had intended to beg the honour of your Company Mr. Addingtons [and crossed out] Mr. H. A and Miss Addington to meet him. -- Last night just as we were going to bed they arrived ^unexpectedly^ and must leave us to morrow -- Dare I request the favour of your coming to day at 4 o clock to the shabbiest dinner to which you ever sat down? -- It is literally true, but we cant help ourselves in this barren land. As fasting is wholesome you may gain on the side of health what you lose in another way -- Yours my dear Madam most faithfully

H More

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[231] See letter No. 35. William Wilberforce visited Barley Wood often. He and his wife spent part of their honeymoon there and later he took his two sons to visit the More sisters.

54. To Mrs. Addington 30 August 1815

Endorsed name, date. Red wax seal.

My dear Madam

It is not without regret that I ever decline the occasion of seeing you and yours whenever that gratification can be enjoyed, but I have not dined out I think these three years[232] as the evening air never fails to lay me up. My Sisters join me in returning thanks for the invitation and in regret at not being able to profit by it. Yours my dear Madam very sincerely

H. More

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[232] More demonstrates here how cautious she has become regarding her health in her seventy-first year.

55. To Mr. Addington 24 September 1815

Endorsed name, date. No seal. Addressed to "Right Hon. Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

In troubling you to break the seal of this pacquet, and commit it to the wings of the petite post, I have been able to spare your weary hand the labour of writing.

I was vexed not a little that I should be from home[233] when you had the goodness to call before your departure. It added to my vexation that on no other day had I been out.

Ever yours my dear Sir
with kind esteem
H. More

---

[233] Apparently More avoids evening air but she continues to take outings during the day.

56. To Mr. Addington 30 September 1815

Endorsed name, date. Written on addressed portion too. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington." No salutation.

Have the goodness, my dear Sir to commit the inclosed to the 2^d^ post.

A very singular person dined here last week -- Mr. Lee the learned Carpenter of Shrewsbury.[234] I think I showed you two years ago some beautiful specimens of his writing in several of the Oriental languages. While he was working at his trade for eight shillings a week, he made himself compleat [sic] master of fourteen Languages. He never could afford more than two books at a time in one Language, which, when he had mastered, he sold to buy a Lexicon and an Author in another language. While he was plying the line and the hammer two friends of mine General Macaulay,[235] and Mr.

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[234] Samuel Lee (1783-1852) taught himself languages including Greek, Hebrew, Persian and others. He entered Cambridge in 1814 and subsequently published editions of the New Testament in Syriac in 1816 and the Old Testament in 1823. Lee also translated the Book of Job from original Hebrew. He must have told More at dinner that he was 28 years of age; the DNB indicates that he would have been 32 years old when he dined at Barley Wood.

[235] More means Zacharay Macaulay, a good friend of hers, who had been governor of Sierra Leone during the 1790s. He had been a merchant (sailor?) in Africa which might explain More's referring to him as "General." Macaulay was active in trying to abolish the British slave trade; he edited the Christian Observer (1802-16), a publication devoted to abolition. His eldest son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, had been a personal favourite of More's throughout his childhood. He visited More at Clifton in 1830 after his election to Parliament and spoke

(continued...)

Scott,[236] formerly Secretary to Warren Hastings who were at Bath, examined a portion of Isaiah translated ^by Lee^ from the Hebrew into the Persian and found it faultless. After a thorough trial of his rare knowledge he was sent to Cambridge where he has been two years, and is now appointed to revive and print the Syriac new Testament, being supposed the person in the kingdom best qualified for it since the death of Dr. Buchanan.[237] Tho I have long ^been^ interested about this extraordinary man, I had not seen him before. With the help of a handsome black Coat, he makes a grand Clerical figure, is grave, modest and unassuming, his age 28. In a Mass House which he was employed to repair at 17, he found an old Missal. The priest refusing to explain it to

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[235](...continued)
in favour of constitutional reform. This caused More to revise her will, revoking her bequest of valuable library books to him.

[236] Major John Scott, one of Warren Hastings aides-de-camp in India, and the person who became Hastings' agent and representative at Parliament in England. Scott's behaviour in England, including his losing his seat in 1793 through an accusation of bribery, caused Frances Burney to consider Scott as the "chief cause which precipitated Burke's grand attack on Hastings and brought about his impeachment" (Grier, Letters, 438). During the last few years before his death, in 1819, Scott became connected with the Evangelical arm of the Church of England when his daughters and Mrs. Hastings joined the Bible Society. These connections could explain Scott's having a discussion with Hannah More at Bath.

[237] Claudius Buchanan(1766-1815), Doctor of Divinity, from the Universities of Glasgow and Cambridge who travelled extensively in India. He published translations of the scriptures in a variety of Oriental languages. In a letter to Lady Olivia Sparrow, More claims that Buchanan's death is "an irreparable loss to the oriental scripture translations" (Roberts, II, 210).

him he spent his only five pence on a Latin Grammar which was afterwards sold for a ragged Virgil.

I hope your health is quite recuperated. Yours my dear Sir

very faithfully

H. More

B. Wood

30 Sep

My two friends the Davis's[236] &c dined last week with Duke Wellington who invited them to his grand review 62,000 English Troops -- The Spectacle was magnificent.

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[236] The Hart-Davises.

57. To Mr. Addington 16 October 1815

Seal. Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ Mr. Addington."

[no salutation]

I trouble you again my dear Sir for the two penny Post.

I am sure you feel for the nine orphans of Mr. Henry Thornton[239] now made completely so, by the death of their valuable Mother whom you so lately saw here!

very faithfully dear Sir

Yours H. More

16 Oct^br

Barley Wood

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[239] Henry Thornton, his brother Robert, and their cousin, William Wilberforce, all MPs, were from Clapham Common, Surrey. They became known as the Clapham Sect and were nicknamed "the Saints" because of their evangelical beliefs and their philanthropy. Henry inherited 40,000 pounds; it was his money that financed More's Mendip schools. He had already died, on 16 January 1815, when More comments on his wife's death in this letter.

58. To Mrs. Addington 19 October 1815

Endorsed name, date.

[no salutation]

Many thanks my dear Madam, for your pheasant[240] which is very acceptable as we are expecting Admiral Bedford[241] and his family to morrow. We should have sent to enquire after you but our coachman ^has^ been very ill.

The slight books now sent you will be so good as return in a few days as they are not my own.

Alas! My poor friend Mrs. H. Thornton is buried this day. Pity the nine poor orphans! Y^rs^ dear Madam

most truly H. More

[Second endorsement] Oct 19th 1815

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[240] A game bird along with partridge and grouse, hunted legally by only the upper classes. The annual cost of stocking pheasant on upper class properties could be about 600 pounds; as well, there was the cost of a gamekeeper to kill predators and keep poachers away. Because game was a delicacy, it was particulary appreciated when given as a gift.

[241] William Bedford (1764?-1827) became a Vice-Admiral in 1821. He served in the North Sea, at the blockade of Brest and in other military engagements.

59. To Mr. Addington [October 1815]

No endorsement, no address.

My dear Sir

Your kind letter has given me very serious concern. I feel your kindness in writing under such painful circumstances; the feelings you describe are worse than pain, I used to call them misery in my recovery from that long fever. I wish my dear Dr. Lambe[242] was within your reach, he would put you in some solitary place without tormenting you and would give more hours to your case than your Baillies and Halfords[243] give minutes. I would not so intrude on your never wearied kindness but that I am obliged to send 3 Letters on the same business at once. Solicitations from different printers to reprint a very old effusion of a very youthful brain the Tragedy of Percy[244] -- It is an awkward business to me. I am glad you are not old enough to have been in the House ^not play but Parliament house^ when that most unjust Law on Literary Property[245] was past. Is it not a hard thing that the produce of one's head should not be as much one's own in perpetuity as one's hand. I remember a pretty speech of Lord Chesterfield much in point about literary Books -- "Which my Lords is the property of those who have it and too commonly it is, the only property they have" &c &c.

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[242] William Lambe 1765-1847). He was educated at Cambridge, acted as a censor, lectured, and published medical works.

[243] Matthew Baillie, an anatomist, was physician to George III. Sir Henry Halford was physician to George IV. Both physicians published medical works. More points out that Sir John would receive better treatment from Dr. Lambe than what Baillie or Halford provided for their Kings.

[244] More's second tragedy, which was staged under the guidance of David Garrick, opened at Theatre Royal in Covent Garden on December 10, 1777. It ran for twenty-one nights; the first edition of the play consisted of four thousand copies which sold out in two weeks. Patricia Demers notes that when Percy was staged the following year in Bristol, "a crowd threatened to storm the building to secure seats" (Demers, World, 24).

The goodness of the Inglis's is indeed, as poor Miss Thornton called it in a letter to me "chivalrous friendship."[246] One does hope that such a distinguished act of heroic generosity will have its reward somewhere.[247]

I do beg in all sincerity that you will never think yourself obliged from politeness to answer the occasional scrawls which I take the liberty to write you. With my cordial good wishes for your restored health and comfort, I am very truly

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[245] Donald W. Nichol explains the law on Literary Property: "the principle of perpetual copyright through common law was overturned" (Nichol, "Copy and Copyright," 110-20). In Roberts' Memoirs and also later in this collection, More discusses how copyright affects her as an author as well as how it impacts on booksellers (See Roberts, II, 205 and letter 47B below).

[246] Because both Henry Thornton and his wife died during 1815, leaving nine orphans, it seems that the "Inglis's goodness" involves their taking over the care of the nine Thornton children. See also letter No. 60 in this collection.

[247] More's expression implies two things: she doubts that the Inglis family will be appreciated for their heroic generosity; Heaven will be their only valid reward.

My dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

H. More

60. To Mr. Addington 26 October 1816

Endorsed name, date and also "Book. -- Emigration". Seal.

My dear Sir

Many thanks for your kind remembrance in sending us so glorious a Gazette.[248] I could not forbear crying out, this is like good old war times, when the poor had work and the rich staid at home. Pray read a little Poem called "Emigration"[249] by a young Clerical friend of mine. Every part is not equally good, but I think the Apostrophe to the King in Cowper's[250] best manner.[251] The evil this Poem deplores is, in my opinion, religiously morally and patriotically bad. I do believe were the rich and powerful at their respective posts[252] much of the impending horrors of the approaching Winter might be avoided. An English Club of noblemen in Paris, I must confess has to me a portentous sound!

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[248] The announcement and a chronicle of the British victory at "the glorious Battle of Algiers" (28 August 1816) appeared in the London Gazette of October 15, 1816.

[249] More later identifies Samuel Charles Wilkes (1789-1872) as the author of this poem. See Letter No. 62. Wilkes was an evangelical divine who graduated from Oxford in 1816 and became the editor of the Clapham Sect's Christian Observer 1816-50.

[250] William Cowper.

[251] More's recommendation is an indication that she continues to promote beginning writers, in spite of the disastrous consequences of her mentorship of Ann Yearsley.

[252] More believed that Britain's domestic problems were exacerbated, or, at the least, ignored by the very people who could rectify them. Her ideas are in keeping with other intellectuals of her time such as Maria Edgeworth, who wrote fictional protests in such works as Castle Rackrent and in The Absentee from her Fashionable Tales. See also, letter No. 71 below.

Yours my dear Sir
most faithfully
H. More

B. Wood 24 Oct^br^

61. To Mrs. Addington 18 November 1816

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to Langford Court WRINGTON. Black wax seal.

My dear Madam

The paper you were so good to inclose is indeed the most formidable I have ever seen. It really made us tremble. Our last night's ^Paper^ gave a practical illustration of Cobbetts Theory.[253] How can he endure his name? Is it not Treason or rather Sedition? I think that Miscreant[254] overshot himself in his Speech at Spa Fields[255] when he repeatedly lamented that his friends should be forced to send 100 Miles for a Ringleader. It looks as if his brother Rogues of a somewhat higher order were not so forward to run their heads into danger.

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[253] William Cobbett (1763-1835), essayist, soldier, bookseller and publisher. Cobbett began as a Tory journalist but later he adopted the opinions of the masses. He began "Cobbett's Weekly Political Register" ~~in~~ January, 1802. When he published a cheap copy of his "Register" called "Twopenny Trash" in 1816, it achieved a huge readership which resulted in an aggressive anti-Cobbett campaign. Hannah More participated in this campaign against Cobbett.

[254] Henry Hunt. See letter 13.

[255] On 15 November, 1816 two radical leaders, Francis Burdett and Henry Hunt, held an outdoor meeting at Spa Fields, Bristol. Their aim was to create a petition, which Burdett intended to take forward to the Prince Regent, demanding universal male suffrage, voting by ballot, and an annual parliament. Burdett, however, withdrew from the scene after getting into an argument with Hunt. More knows that the beliefs of Burdett and Hunt aligned with those of William Cobbett. For instance, like Cobbett, Burdett had denounced flogging in the army in his article of 1810 and had been imprisoned for two years.

I wish heartily it were in my power to do anything that might in the smallest degree meet the occasion. But I can truly say with Jacquez "My brain's as dry as the remainder biscuit after a voyage."[256] They must get somebody not only whose mind is not exhausted but one who is better able to meet the changes on political grounds. When you drive this way perhaps you will have the goodness to call that we may talk over these horrors, for they really appall one.

I was half thinking of reprinting[257] my ballad on the "Rights", or part of one on "The True Rights of Man"[258] somewhat altered which might do for villages and Country Towns but not for the Capital I think. They are in the Book of Poems.

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[256] From Shakespeare's As You Like It. The lines read: . . . And in his brain,/ Which is as dry as the remainder biscuit/ After a voyage, . . . (II, vii, 38-40).

[257] In order to combat the republican ideas of writers such as William Cobbett, many anti-reform writers, including Hannah More, were called into service. More, particularly, was encouraged because the anti-seditious messages of her Cheap Repository Tracts of the 1790s were thought to have discouraged rebellion in the lower orders of British society at that time. She writes to William Wilberforce that she was driven "to scribble about thirteen pieces . . . in about six weeks" which she thinks is "pretty well for a Septuagenary" (Roberts II, 236).

[258] Village Politics, a polemical tract, was published in 1792. It was extremely popular and became the model for More's Cheap Repository project three years later.

Patty is very poorly. I pity Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Addington. The Home Department[259] has indeed a heavy load on their hands.

Yours my dear Madam
very sincerely
H. More

Monday Morning.

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[259] Lord Sidmouth was made Home Department Secretary by the Prince Regent on 8 June 1812. Sidmouth's brother, John Addington, was responsible for Home Office affairs in the House of Commons. Under the supervision of the Home Department, more than five thousand Justices of the Peace, isolated from London, attempted to maintain law and order. Sidmouth regularly sent "spies" from London to ensure that Magistrates were not involved in or encouraging seditious activities.

62. To Mr. Addington [December 1816]

Endorsed name. Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir Barley Wood Saturday
Evening

Your letter petrified me. I could hardly compose myself so far as to copy these old songs,[260] and scribble the hasty "Address to the Spa Fields Meeting."[261] I believe they are good for nothing but I was encouraged by Mr. Thornton once telling me that the song called "The Riot" once put an end to an actual Riot at Hull. I have had but an hour or two to do it in. You may burn or use them as you see occasion. Cobbett my old enemy[262] would burn me if he knew I had written "the address." I think you cannot do better than see Mr. Roberts and say I can think of no one so likely to answer your purpose as my young friend who wrote

---

[260] More and many government officials believed in using familiar folk tunes with revised verses as rhetorical weapons to combat "sedition".

[261] A copy of this work is included with letter No 76 below. I have not found evidence of this tract in print; perhaps the Broadsheets did not survive. Henry Thompson includes a copy of this tract as a "Specimen of Mrs. More's Ballads in 1817" in his Life of More (Appendix VII). However, its appearance in Thompson's book does not mean that the tract was ever in print. Thompson had access to this collection of letters while he was preparing his biography; he may have assumed that the tract had been printed over twenty years earlier.

[262] More's and Cobbett's political and religious views were the antithesis of each other. M.G. Jones points out that More and Wilberforce believed Cobbett's papers to be "blasphemous" (Jones, 203). More contributed to the Anti-Cobbett or Weekly Patriotic Register from February to April of 1817.

"Emigration."[263] He has a great deal of wit, spirit and a most ready pen. The misfortune is he lives at Exeter where he has a Curacy and is much liked. It is important to the young Man not to have his name known ^as the Author of the Poem^ -- it is Wilks. His father left the e out of his name for fear he should be thought to be of John Wilkes' family.[264] I spurred him up I believe to write "Emigration." I really believe had those unfeeling unpatriotic absentees[265] staid at home, and spent their ten millions here, half these troubles might have been prevented. It is a subject on which I lose my temper.

---

[263] More reconnects Samuel Charles Wilks to her politically powerful friends.

[264] John Wilkes was a dissenting MP of the middle ranks whose cynicism, flamboyance and questionable moral character led to his attracting many supporters and ultimately led to his status as a folk hero. In 1763 he was arrested for libelling the King; in the same year he was caricatured by Hogarth holding a bogus cap of Liberty. (See Linda Colley, Britons, 1991, 107). Wilkes was also known for his contempt of the Scottish, particularly Lord Bute. It is understandable that More's conservative young friend would not want to be associated with Wilkes.

[265] British travellers abroad or those who lived in London without ever visiting the estates which produced their income. Earlier in 1816 More had commented to Lady Olivia Sparrow on "the great and opulent absentees" whose travelling in stressful domestic times reflects "a marked area of deterioration in the English character" (Roberts II, 223). More expands her ideas about Britons' absence from home in her Moral Sketches of 1819. See letter No. 100 below.

I expressed my earnest wish to Sir Gore Ousely[266] who seemed to know the Editor of the Times Paper to go instantly (when he went from hence) to get the Exposure of Cobbett printed on penny papers,[267] as the Provincial poor do not see London papers [sic] he wrote he had done so, but it was done I believe before.

Would it not be well to examine some old newspapers for the long account of Cobbett's prosecution and trial for cruel treatment of a poor Servant;[268] I believe a Parish apprentice. These Reformers are always Tyrants.

I feel much for you dear Sir who are as it were on the fore front of this tremendous battle. You may depend on my secrecy --

---

[266] An oriental scholar and a diplomat who was made a Baronet in 1808 for his services to the British government. More expects Ousely will use his political power to assist with the anti-Cobbett campaign.

[267] Shrewd marketing tactics recalled from the heady days of the Cheap Repository Tract project. More knows that Cobbett's admirers are the disenfranchised.

[268] In 1809, an anonymously-written pamphlet describing Cobbett's trial for his alleged ill-treatment of one of his Botley farm workers had been circulated. The boy ran away, after being paid, because he had been required to rise too early in the mornings. After helping the boy to escape, the boy's brother and mother were detained by two of Cobbett's employees. The boy was awarded ten pounds damages rather than the thousand pounds he had requested. Placards were posted in London, publicizing Cobbett's alleged "cruelty and oppression" (Pearl, William Cobbett, 70). Efforts by Hannah More and others to revive the episode must have been successful. For in 1820, when Cobbett ran for political office in Coventry, the farm boy publicly withdrew his earlier accusations against Cobbett, which indicates that the 1809 scandal must have been circulating again at that time.

Mr. Roberts knows Wilks and has employ'd him -- May it please God to send quieter times.

Y^rs^ most Truly

HM --

I have not a moment to correct or alter. You may do both. Poor Shipham and Rowberrow!! -- My heart aches for them -- They cannot sell a bag of ore.[269]

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[269] More's second school, established at Shipham, kept her in touch with the lives of the miners and their families. The "ore" is calamine (lapis calaminaris), a zinc compound from which zinc is extracted using a heat source. The zinc is then able to be combined with copper to make brass. The miners were unable to sell their calamine when the demand dropped for two reasons: lower prices on the continent forced the closure of some English brass companies; changes in the methods of brass production resulted in a "rather rapid descent" of the calamine market (See The Victoria History. . . of Somerset, II, 391).

63. To Mr. Addington [December 1816]

Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

I have a strange misgiving after all that not one Atom of Ship.^m^ or Rowberrow Calamine has been ever bought by the Brass Mills Company, & that their purchasers have gone to some other place[270] -- I have sent to Mr. Perry[271] for a prompt & close examination into this, as it torments me not a little. I never hear any thing.

I still continue a close prisoner, making but slow progress and doing absolutely nothing. I trouble you with a long direction to the inclosed -- I have lost my Correspondent's letter and can only think of directing to his Bookseller. --

A Frenchman[272] in the splendid costume of a Paris Aristocrat arrived here by post two nights ago -- He calls himself

---

[270] From the sixteenth century, Somerset, largely at Wrington, had produced the best quality of calamine in England. But it cost about 65s to 70s per ton, where Derbyshire calamine, a lower quality ore, could be had for 40s. More is obviously frustrated that the brass and zinc smelting works at Bristol would practice comparative shopping. (See History of Somerset ii, 391).

[271] More's neighbour. See letter No. 65 below.

[272] More's friend, M. Huber, of Hartwell-Farm, translated into French her novel Coelebs in Search of a Wife; it was published at Paris in 1817. Later, in a letter of September, 1817 to William Wilberforce More mentions Huber's "magnificent copy." She also describes a "less splendid" German translation of this work (Roberts, II, 237).

Coelebs ou le choix d'une

Epouse -- Roman Moral.

2 vols &c &c.

I am persuaded this Westmoreland Country Squire will never suit the Meridian[273] of Paris.

With best respects to Mrs. A. I am ever my dear Sir

faithfully [smudged] yours

H. More

Thursday Even

---

[273] The place at which the sun is at its highest point and from which longitude is reckoned. Ultimately, Greenwich was established as this place.

64. To Mr. Addington [December 1816]

Endorsed name. Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir Wednesday

Your kind intentions toward us, in writing on Monday were partly frustrated by a trick the post has got of sending our letters and papers on to Axbridge.[274] We thankfully however received this proof [smudged] both of your kindness ^and calmness^ this morning. We are shocked beyond measure[275] at the reports in to day's paper.

In the apprehended Riots about 1793 I remember Mr. Rivers, whom you must know, engaged a little Shop, I think in the Strand, took out a pane of Glass, and sold and gave my little Prose Tract of "Village Politics."[276] What think you of my gutting that Tract of all that relates to the then circumstances, the French &c and reducing it to a half penny or penny Paper. There were in '93 Committees of Gentlemen to superintend the sales in different parts of the Towns.

---

[274] More's Barley Wood is very near the post office at Wrington while Axbridge is about five miles south of Wrington.

[275] There had been a second rally organized for Spa Fields on 2 December, 1816. Henry Hunt arrived to find his ambitions thwarted by the earlier arrival of a fanatical extremist group headed by a Doctor Watson and his drunken son. Hunt's podium had been stolen and the crowd was not in the mood for listening to another speaker. Sidmouth sent an alderman and a group of constables who easily arrested the speakers at this rally.

[276] "Village Politics" was published in 1792. More constructs this tract as a dialogue between a revolutionary-minded Mason and an anti-seditious Blacksmith in a point, counter-point format. She undoes four of Thomas Paine's arguments in his Rights of Man: new rights; French liberty; democracy; equality. She points out, through the loyal Blacksmith, that murder, tyrannical behaviour, and the destruction of law and order prevailed in the aftermath of revolution.

One thing I beg leave to mention the Ballads should if possible be cried about the streets;[277] I have contrived that the Titles of them should be of that ambiguous nature, that they shall appear[278] to the purchaser to be on the other side such as "The Riot" -- "Address to Spa Fields," &c

I was much hurt when poor Percival was wounded,[279] that no counteracting papers were cried about, while those which were hawked in the streets represented Billingham as a Martyr and Percival as a murderer. Fletcher of Saltoun[280] said, you may let who you will make the laws so you leave me to make the Ballads. When I first set about my cheap Tracts[281] in the beginning of our Alarms, the good Bishop of Dol[282] (who was afterward guillotined) was at Bath. We were much acquainted and when I seemed loth to set about it, he said "penny Papers might have saved France and so I told the King." I hope you have [sic] furnishing yourself with active and able persons, for this purpose.[283] Yours my dear Sir

---

[277] More recalls the distribution tactics of her Cheap Repository Tracts of 1795-98 when her messages were transmitted directly to the people in their familiar oral tradition.

[278] More believes deception to be a necessary part of her marketing strategy.

[279] Sir John Perceval, Prime Minister, had been assassinated on 11 May, 1812, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by John Billingham. Billingham, who was bankrupt, had a grudge against the government. More is well aware that the lower orders would have sympathized with Billingham; she implies that had pro-government tracts been called out in the streets they might have acted as a counter-measure to rebellion.

[280] Scottish historical writer of the seventeenth century who discussed the ancient rights and powers of Parliament.

[281] Cheap Repository Tract project of 1795-98.

most faithfully

HM

---

[282] Must have been a Royalist Frenchman who died in the French Revolution of the early 1790s.

[283] More reminds Addington that he and Lord Sidmouth are in a position to be able to effect the peaceful disposition of Britain's domestic turmoil using cheap tracts as a method to communicate with the dissatisfied lower orders. To this end, More encourages Addington to recruit allies within the government.

65. To Mr. Addington 11 December 1816

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mr. Addington." Written on the back of the page as well.

My dear Sir

I have been looking over "Village Politics,"[284] and am surprised to find how much the leading features of it suit the present crisis. I find that if I had attempted any thing ^entirely^ new, I should have used the same arguments. I have interested myself then with cutting out what more specially related to the beginning of the French Revolution and was irrelevant to the present period, to which I have accommodated it, and made great additions ^such^ as might give it an air of novelty, and of suitableness to the existing times. We read it to Mrs. A. last night who encouraged me to send it to you.

Every body is pleased highly with the vigour and energy[285] shown at this momentous crisis. How different from the miserable inefficiency of the year 1780 -- London burning![286]

Miss Roberts begs the favour of her letter being committed to the 2 penny post.

---

[284] See note above, letter 64.

[285] Following the second rally at Spa Fields on 2 December, 1816, Sidmouth enacted legislation to have all public meetings suppressed. Several months later on 24 February 1817, the Habeas Corpus act was suspended too.

[286] More remembers that the government of the 1780s dealt ineffectively with the "no Popery" riots of 2-7 June, 1780.

This Pamphlet which was written 23 years ago will appear new to the generality.

I presume you have organized your plans and have found a good strong tool. I am ever my dear Sir faithfully yours

H. More

I shall communicate with Mr. Perry on your liberal proposal.[287] I fear he has had no further success.

Enclosure with Letter No. 48 to Sir John Addington [11 December 1816]

Folded Sheet, second page blank except endorsement "Mrs. H. More"

Will Chip's
True Rights of Man[288]
in opposition to the
New Rights of Man
By a Journey Man Carpenter

That the rich do not work some pretend to complain,
While they hint that the poor do but labor in vain;
But is there no labor then, let me demand,
But the march of the foot, or the work of the hand?

'Tis the head that directs, 'tis the heart that supplies

---

[287] Mr. Perry investigated the financial crisis of the miners at Shipham and Rowberrow. The proposal from John Addington recommended that members of the gentry buy shares in a company that would be established to buy the miners' calamine. In this way the miners' financial distress would be alleviated.

[288] This reworked version of Village Politics was published as The Village Disputants in 1817. William Roberts notes that there were "several editions published" (Roberts II, 224). More tells the Miss Roberts that 600 copies of this tract were sent to six gentlemen at Manchester so that they could distribute them in their areas (Roberts II, 226-7).

Life, vigour, & motion to hands, feet, & eyes
'Tho different our stations, some great & some small
One labours for each, & each labours for all.

That some must be poorer, this truth I will sing
Is the law of my Maker, & not of my King;
And the true rights of Man, & the life of his cause
Is not equal professions, but equal just laws.

If accused I am tried to my peers I appeal
Not smuggled unheard to some dismal Bastille
Nor like the French lately popp'd off to Cayenne[289]
Without any chance to be heard of again.

If I'm wrong, & to laws I am bound to submit,
If I'm right, oh how glad are those laws to acquit
If the right to correct to my Judges belong,
I've a right to avoid it, by doing no wrong.

If sickness o'ertake me, the laws of the land
Hold out to my wants a compassionate hand
Should some churlish Churchwarden presume to oppress
At the next Justice meeting[290] I straight get redress.

If I scrape up but forty good shillings a year,
I help govern the Land[291] as I'll make it appear
For the makers of laws, my brave lads do you see,
Are elected by folks not much richer than me.

From the parliament man if he prove a turncoat,
I've a right to withold, as to give him my vote;
And if British Laws I'm obliged to respect
Those laws in return will my substance protect.

---

[289] A French penal colony.

[290] Richard Connors outlines the two-step process for seeking assistance. The requester was required to ask the parish overseer who would then investigate the reasons for relief; he would provide relief at his discretion. After 1722, relief was given only in emergencies and only after the requester appealed to a Justice of the Peace (Connors, Poor Women, 1997, 135). Hannah More assumes the benevolent, or at least fairminded, nature of Justices.

[291] A county franchise meant that male citizens were qualified to vote if they held, for a minimum of one year, freehold land valued through tax assessment at forty shillings. There were nine thousand such voters in the county of Somerset (History of Parliament, Appendix I, 358).

[two lines scribbled out with partial line above them also crossed out]

Equal rights, equal freedom all Britons possess,
The richest not more, and the poorest not less
But all rights have their bounds, for the right to do evil
Is no right of man, but the right of the Devil.
[Lines struck out read: I am sure of some
As long as I work I've a right to full pay, I've a right to some/ I've a right to my Bible, to read, & to pray

66. To Mr. Addington 16 December 1816

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

No "inclosure" with this letter.

Doggerel Garret[292]
in Grub Street[293]
16 Dec ^br^

My dear Sir

Having heard of some symptoms of dissatisfaction ready to break out at Manchester, I thought a new cast of mine office could do them no harm. I inclose the hasty scribble,[294] which you may correct, alter, print or burn.

Miss Roberts' letter which you will please to forward, incloses one of the Songs already printed, with directions to some friends at St. Albans to print a number of copies for distribution in Hertfordshire. This I think might be done every where to save Government the expense. I dare not appear in this part of the business at all. I could get it done in many towns. This might interest the local printers too. Mr. Gladstone[295] of Liverpool is a friend of mine, he would have been a Candidate for the Town, had not Mr. Canning,[296] who owed much to him stood. I conceive he would be a very proper man to be written to, but I dare not.

---

[292] More ironically takes on the persona of a literary hack, living in an attic.

[293] More chooses the infamous Grub Street address which is emblematic of struggling and somewhat ridiculous writers. Johnson defines it as "the name of a street in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called Grub Street (Johnson's Dictionary, 1755).

[294] Not extant.

I grieve for your disqualifying[297] and I fear painful gout. I am dear Sir faithfully yours

An Old Ballad Monger

Miss R. copies for me[298] lest the Printer should know my hand.

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[295] Sir John Gladstone (1764-1851). He was a Liverpool merchant, who was later knighted. He sent the first ship to Calcutta, when trade was opened up with India after the Napoleonic wars. He became a benefactor of charitable and religious institutions near his home.

[296] George Canning, a statesman who became President of the India Board in June, 1816. Canning was in a position to promote Gladstone's East Indian trade business.

[297] More might be using the word "disqualifying" in a broad sense because John Addington remained an MP until April of 1818 when he resigned because of deteriorating health. Perhaps he has not been well enough to return to the House after the Christmas season this year.

[298] When More conducted her Cheap Repository Tracts project in the 1790s she changed printers in order to avoid being detected as the primary author. She repeats this pattern of attempted secrecy with her revisions and reprints.

67. To Mr. Addington [December 1816]

No address.

My dear Sir

Being kept awake the whole of last ^night^ not with a political but an elemental storm, I thought I might as well turn the agitating hours to some little Account. Accordingly in my bed I scribbled the greater part of the inclosed vulgar verses[299] -- I have not had much time to mend them this morning, from constant interruption. You will print or burn them as shall seem good in your eyes.

Many thanks for your very interesting letter. We have deeply felt for you and the noble Viscount as having this immediate direction of this tremendous storm.[300] The precautions taken seem not only to have been admirably planned but thro the aid of a gracious Providence, hitherto successful.[301] I hear Hunt comes to Bristol immediately. I trust, tho he has some vagabond friends there that he will make little impression.

You have this supreme difficulty to struggle with, which did not attend our former alarms, that there are ^now^

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[299] More uses the word, vulgar, in its original sense which means "of the common people. . . plebian" (OED). There are no verses with this letter.

[300] Sidmouth and Addington are responsible for controlling Domestic unrest, such as the rallies at Spa Fields.

[301] More is grateful for the combination of circumstances that led to the undoing of the second rally at Spa Fields.

real grievances, absolute want both of work and bread,[302] which wants were on former insinuations imaginary. This is favourable to these diabolical ringleaders[303] in their wicked and equally preposterous scheme of turning these to account against Government &c.

The state of the poor in our own neighbourhood is indeed very melancholy, that of Shipham and Rowberrow most deplorable. I have had several meetings with our excellent neighbour Mr. Perry, who is ^wishing to^ adopt the very ideas which you suggest that of ^a subscription for^ purchasing the Calamine if people enough can be found.[304] I dont expect much assistance in this neighbourhood except from a Mr. Dyer at Sydcot[305] who has promised to advance fifty pounds if some others will do the same. You will be the great head strengthener of this business should you come among us ^of^ which I am happy to hear there is a hope.

---

[302] The year 1816 had brought many economic ills to Britain. With the end of the Napoleonic wars, government spending had decreased dramatically and returning soldiers had trouble getting work. European industries began to apply tariffs to discourage imports. Before the occurrence of the Spa Fields rally, there had been many small breakouts of violence from unemployed, hungry Britons who were attempting to bring about social reform. Hannah More has become involved first hand with the plight of the Somerset calamine miners. For a complete account of Lord Sidmouth's involvement with these social and economic conditions, see Ziegler's Addington.

[303] More refers to Cobbett, Hunt and other reformers.

[304] Although the remedy to the miners' plight was suggested by John Addington, it is evident here that More is instrumental in promoting this cause and well as contributing to the fund herself. In a letter of 1817, More tells William Wilberforce that she contributed 75 pounds, and that she and six other people gave jointly, 700 pounds security to the government. She remarks that she is "in trade and capable of being made a bankrupt" (Roberts II, 236).

I had once several friends to whom I always applied in such exigencies but they are all gone to a better world.[306]

Your suggestion respecting the Archbishop of C.[307] recommending to their Clergy the double duty of prescribing Charity & subordination[308] is admirable. But he must be addressed by some men in power -- I should think Lords Sidmouth, and Liverpool would be the most proper.[309]

My having been already confined nine months as part only of my Winter imprisoning has prevented my communication with Mrs. A. on any of the interesting topics, but Mohamet has promised to come to the mountain.

---

[305] I suspect that More's "Sydcot" is another case of her interchanging "i" and "y," and is actually Sidcot, a town about one mile west of Shipham. See letter No. 69 below in which More writes this location as "Sidcot."

[306] More was accustomed to receiving funds for charitable causes from Henry Thornton, for example, who died in 1815.

[307] Canterbury.

[308] Clergymen were encouraged to minister to both extremes of the social scale, urging charity for the rich and subordination for the poor.

[309] More's long experience as an evangelical within the Church of England has taught her that when dealing with Church officials a strategic approach is most effective.

The Miss Roberts' who are here join my Sisters in best respects. I am my dear

Sir yours faithfully

Saturday night H. More

68. To Mr. Addington [December 1816]

This is the first letter on which More has written both right and wrong side up.

My dear Sir

We have been writing to day (and trouble you with a few of the scrawls) to many who are concerned in Collieries, Glass Houses, Brass works &c.[310] I send a packet to Bedminster -- as we knew not where to direct people to get the Songs, we venture to day thro a safe medium to order Bulgin[311] to print the three new songs for sales, and to reimburse him if it does not answer to him.[312] Should not Hatchard[313] be ordered to do the same? Every friend will buy Shillings or half Crowns worth. In the Commotions of 1793 I had a Bookseller in Bristol & Bath who kept a number of shilling and 2 Shilling Packets of Village Politics and

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[310] More gives evidence here that either she is seeking subscriptions from her huge network of politicians, clergymen, and gentry to buy ore from the miners of Shipham and Rowberrow or she is sending ballads to them to be distributed.

[311] Bristol bookseller.

[312] Again, More becomes involved in manipulating the market in order to stimulate readers of anti-reform literature. She knows how booksellers should operate regarding the distribution of their wares because of her extensive experience in marketing the Cheap Repository Tracts during the 1790s.

[313] London bookseller.

Songs ready made up on the Counter -- might not Hatchard be told this?[314]

This [illegible word] is an awful visitation.[315] Best wishes of the Season[316] from all here to all at Langford Court -- Ever

my dear Sir HM

---

[314] More appears not to have much faith in booksellers' abilities to do their jobs in ways that will achieve her aims.

[315] More refers to someone's death.

[316] Christmas.

69. To Mr. Addington 31 December 1816

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

I have sent you some trouble,[317] but that seems to be your material element at present. Thanks for your abundant Ammunition sent yesterday -- I can now repay you when you are in want, having got a large supply from Bulgin -- I have ordered some from the other Bristol Booksellers to quicken them all.[318]

Should you print the last M.S. Song, I must put a note to "Satimelic"[319] taking care not to use the word Slave.

Beside the parcel sent to you, many smaller ones are dispatched by this post to Receivers in their own right: Bishops, M.P.s &c. Thank God the prospects brighten for Shipham & Rowberrow! I wish to say that thro a favourable statement just received from my Extra. Bankers in the Strand I shall be able to offer myself as an under partner in the new Firm[320] of Langford Court, Sidcot[321] & if such a one should be established for purchasing the Miner's Stock. I think I can share £50[322] without injury to the little occasional relief now afforded.

---

[317] Addington, it seems, will edit and then pass on More's latest anti-seditious tracts to the printer.

[318] This is a clever marketing strategy on the part of More. The impression that everyone is buying and reading anti-reform literature is created when booksellers constantly run short of supply.

[319] From sati, suttee (OED) defined as the self-immolation of a Hindu widow on her husband's funeral pyre and melic, meant to be sung (OED). In this song, More could be intimating the sacrifice of the sati compared to the sacrifice of the British masses who are at the bottom of the social order in these times of want.

I send an Account of Hart from another Bristol Paper --

Yours ever my dear Sir
most truly
H. More

Tuesday

Will you have the goodness to send a few of the Secret songs[323] to any of our neighbours, also to Mr. Perry and Jones. I will supply them all with the Tract and the known songs.

Do you know the name of the Master at Merthyr Tidville?[324]

---

[320] Although she expresses herself facetiously, More's active participation, with both her time and her money, in the campaign to alleviate the suffering of Shipham and Rowberrow miners gives her a valid reason to call herself a partner.

[321] See letter 67 above.

[322] More practices what she preaches. More eventually contributes much more than this first fifty pounds. See letter No. 65 above.

[323] M.G. Jones notes that there is not much known about most of More's songs and tracts which were written for the anti-Cobbett campaign. More's reluctance to reveal her authorship of these politically-sensitive works could help to explain why so little is known about them.

[324] Correct spelling is Tydfil (Welsh). Merthyr means "martyr, . . . of the martyr." More must be asking for the name of the owner or manager of a firm at Tydfil.

[Written on outside]:

On second thought, I wish the more dangerous[325] of my pacquets should go from Langford rather than Wrington --

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[325] More acknowledges the risks of publishing political propaganda. At her advanced age, perhaps personal safety is the prime concern rather than reputation.

70. To Mr. Addington 6 January 1817

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mr. Addington."

My dear Sir

Many thanks for the venison. -- We have quite exhausted "The Village Disputants"[326] and Ploughman's Ditty.[327] We have had half a hundred of the former from Bulgin and expect a reinforcement to morrow -- Can you lend us half a dozen?

I am writing to night to Sir T. Acland, Morton Pitt[328] and my other M. P. friends while they are stationary in the Country[329] --

The papers last night give a shocking account of the State of mind at Barnesley.[330] I have inclosed a pacquet to a friend at York a Lawyer of note and very patriotic.[331]

---

[326] See letter No. 65 above.

[327] A ballad included in Poems of Hannah More, 1816. The subtitle asks: "What have the POOR to lose?" The lines describe how much worse off the ploughman and his family would have been under French rule. This tract is not included in the Cheap Repository Tracts of 1795-98; it must be one of More's newly-written songs.

[328] Two more of More's well-connected friends become potential prospects for her Shipham and Rowberrow cause.

[329] Christmas recess from Parliament.

[330] Usually spelled Barnsley, in Yorkshire. More could be referring to one of a number of displays of insurrection that were common in early 1817 and eventually, along with the Spa Fields rally, led to the suspension of Habeas Corpus in February of that year.

[331] More expects this patriotic lawyer to distribute anti-reform literature.

I long to begin Trading.[332] Also to know what our Competitors[333] at the Brass Mills have done.

Yours ever my dear
Sir most truly
H. More

Wellington[334] is a Manufacturing Town --

We shall be glad of Songs especially "Ploughman" and Riot[335] --

---

[332] Evidence that More, Addington and the five other investors set up a company to buy the miners' ore. See letter No. 67 above.

[333] Other Brass works would be feeling the presence of More and her friends in the calamine marketplace.

[334] Wellington, Somerset.

[335] Written in 1795 and printed as part of More's Cheap Repository Tracts project (1795-98), The Riot: or, Half a Loaf is better than no Bread is reprinted in 1816 to work against the current social upheaval. In this song, sung to the tune of "A Cobler there was," More recreates the characters of her hugely successful Village Politics (1792). Jack Anvil and Tom Hod evaluate machine-breaking and riot as means of achieving social equality, with the chorus of "Derry down" sung between each verse.

71. To Mr. Addington 22 January 1817

Endorsed name, date. No addressee.

My dear Sir

You had my last note and shall have my first. I was seized with a bad bilious fever the day after I saw you. I am mending but slowly. I have been serving my country[336] in the best way I could -- compleat fasting. A loathing of all food has not yet left me. A little of this at Brighton[337] would do no harm. Miss Roberts' have left us -- My Sisters are so poorly[338] that we have not a soul living below stairs. The weather most awful --

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[336] Post war economics and industrial changes caused hardship for many people of the labouring classes. More's facetious comment connects her own situation to the hungry state of the masses.

[337] A popular sea spa, about 45 miles south of London, where well-to-do gentry and aristocracy bathed, ate and generally practised a decadent lifestyle. More's snide remark is aimed at wasteful rich people who ignore the hardship experienced by other Britons. Her remark could also be interpreted as a slam at the Prince Regent who spent hundreds of thousands of pounds on his Royal Pavilion at Brighton when most Britons were experiencing acute social and economic distress. The Holland Villa had been built in 1787 but enlargements and very costly renovations of the Pavilion continued right through the Napoleonic Wars and in the depressed economic times of the aftermath of these wars. For example, more than four thousand pounds were spent on chandeliers for the Pavilion's music room. As well, nine-course dinners were served regularly for the rich at a time when many of their countrymen were starving.

[338] The previous summer, Sarah More had been diagnosed with "dropsy," swelling caused by fluid retention, which is a symptom of various diseases such as arteriosclerosis or kidney disease. Patty's health was also poor.

Many thanks for your kind enquiries which have drawn on you this scrap -- You will be working to death -- best regards to Mrs. A. Yours My dear Sir

H. More

72. To Mr. Addington 3 February 1817

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington/ Secretary of State's Office/ Whitehall/London." WRINGTON/stamp "Free 3 Feb 1817". Red wax seal.

My dear Sir

As I do not conceive you can have much intercourse with Mr. Butterworth,[339] I thought his letter which I inclose (and which please to return by first post, as I must answer it) would give you a view of their proceedings. There cannot I suppose be a more desirable Chairman.

I have many things I wished to say but a return of my fever obliges me to postpone them. I believe I went to work too soon but hope to be better in a day or two, when I will write. Best regards to Mrs. A.

Yours my dear Sir

most truly HM

The vigilance of your department[340] I deem unusually commended.[341] What frightful demand is there for it!

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[339] Joseph Butterworth, a Wesleyan philanthropist, was MP for Dover. He sold law books and published a priced catalogue for them. Butterworth seems to be heading up an organized attack against William Cobbett's successful dissemination of pro-reform propaganda.

[340] Sidmouth had issued instructions to his more than 5000 Justices of the Peace, that it was their duty to arrest the sellers of seditious literature. More supports Sidmouth's zeal.

[341] It seems that the Home Department has received some public support. More's remark implies that such support for the actions of the Department is rare, or rarely as strong.

73. To Mr. Addington [Early 1817]

Endorsed name only. Addressed to "Right Hon Mr. Addington." Ink smudges on address. One page, with a one page letter from someone else to Hannah More.

My dear Sir

In your present state of hurry, I do not send this tract[342] for your perusal, but perhaps Mrs. Addington may find an hour to run thro it. It should be sent as soon as possible to Mr. Butterworth, tho he desires me to send it to the Secretary whose name I have forgotten nor do I know whether their plan[343] is organized. ^Yrs.^ dear Sir

very truly

H. More

The inclosed written down at my desire by a most respectable Clergyman -- [different handwriting below]

Dear Madam

What I saw in the Old Market Bristol on the 22nd of Jan was a shabby looking man with a small Table and a parchment with half a dozen columns for names on the Pavement, he was asking the country people to sign I could not hear what he said but there were half a dozen children about nine or ten years of age who appeared to me to be writing their names --

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[342] Not enclosed. More contributed tracts to the Anti-Cobbett campaign from February to April, 1817.

[343] Evidence of an organized strategy to counteract Cobbett's pro-reform messages.

I understood by the people that he had been at this work for many days.[344]

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[344] By forwarding such information to Addington, More, who opposes Constitutional reform, does her part to assist Addington and Sidmouth, both of the Home Department, with their learning about seditious activities that might contribute to reform. In this case, More shows Addington that some petitions for reform include signatures from children who would not understand the political issues.

74. To Mrs. Addington 15 February 1817

Folded letter. Endorsed with name, date.

My dear Madam

Will you excuse my sending the inclosed note from our good Bishop of St. David's[345] to you. I remember Miss Wilson[346] very well at Langford Court but am utterly ignorant of every thing relating to her family and connections, nor do I know that you are better informed.

I seize the occasion of addressing a line to you my dear Madam for really I grudge taking up Mr. Addington's important time for amusement. Pray thank him in all our names for his great kindness in sending a line of comfort on that alarming night[347] last Monday. Thank God it passed off so quietly. I send another pacquet by this post to Mr. A. for the printer, but know not whether you will have time to run over the new Tract it incloses; I write them ^all^ with so much rapidity, and with such a weak head and hand from my general want of sleep that I fear they will be found [word struck out] feeble inefficient things. Mr. A. will have the goodness to return Mr. Butterworth's letter, as I have not answered it.[348]

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[345] St. David's is a town with a cathedral, located in Pembrokeshire. See too letter No. 91 below.

[346] Unidentified.

[347] As the Prince Regent returned to the Palace of Westminster after opening Parliament on 28 January, 1817, someone threw a projectile at his coach, shattering a window. This incident was interpreted as an assassination attempt on the Prince Regent's life and it helped to fuel Sidmouth's campaign for further repressive legislation. John Addington could have written to Hannah More with the details of this incident. Another possible explanation for More's "alarm" could be a petition containing 20,000 names from Bristol, calling for Parliamentary reform, that was presented to Parliament by Lord Cochrane. After Bristol MPs assured their colleagues that the petition did not represent the wishes of the Bristol citizenry, the petition was quickly tabled. Information about the petition appears in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1817.

Bulgin[349] has sold an immense number of the Songs which I desired him to reprint.[350] They have also been reprinted in many other places. I never prevailed on Hatchard and Evans[351] to lower the price[352] to 3/ a hundred. And I hope I have got the former to lower the "Village Disputants"[353] to Two pence, but I am never quite sure of any thing he writes me, not from any want of sincerity in the poor man, but from his unaccountable undecypherable hand writing,[354] so that I often mistake his meaning.

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[348] More had sent Butterworth's letter with her own letter of 3 February 1817 (No. 72 here), almost two weeks earlier. At that time she had asked Addington to return it "by first post" so that she could answer it. Apparently, he has not done this.

[349] Bristol bookseller.

[350] More is not above paying to have her own anti-reform works printed.

[351] John Hatchard (1769-1849), a London bookseller, issued the "Christian Observer" from 1802-45. He also issued publications of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. By this time, More had been associated with Hatchard for many years.

[352] More notices that Hatchard's bulk pricing resulted in a greater number of songs being sold to the middle ranks, who were encouraged to distribute them to the labouring classes.

[353] See above, letter No. 65.

Poor Lord Radstock[355] is indefatigable in the cause, and pours out his well meant but not very powerful effusions in half penny papers without end. He writes to me almost every day and I am obliged to answer in the lump about once a fortnight, but he is so friendly!

What a life do Lord Sidmouth and Mr. A lead. They must be worked to death, and the Mind too, which is the hardest work.

Finding to my regret that I am generally accused of writing the Songs I deny it no longer, and have put "^Cheap^ Repository,"[356] which is the sign to my shop,[357] on the new things.

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[354] More's handwriting is at times "undecypherable." In her periods of illness her penmanship reflects the unsteady state of her constitution.

[355] William Waldegrave (1753-1825), created first baron, Radstock in the Irish peerage in 1800. His "effusions" include The Cottager's Friend 13 ed. published at London in 1814. In 1806, Rivington had also published his "The British flag triumphant! Or, The Wooden Walls of old England . . . to which is prefixed, an address to the officers, seamen, and marines of His Majesty's fleets." I have found no record of his half penny papers of 1817.

[356] More is now using the title of her tracts of 1795-98 as a selling ploy for her new ones.

[357] This reflects More's deep immersion in the language and practice of trade and commerce in which she had been personally engaged for over forty years. It is also very interesting that after her initial intense concern for secrecy she has now done an about-face and is willing to sell on her reputation.

I hear from many quarters that things seem to mend a little in every way.

We have been a very sick house. Patty has still so much fever and pain[358] in her chest that speaking only a few words brings on her cough. My poor Sister Sarah's dropsy[359] has fallen into her leg and she has now appearances very much like what carried off my last Sister.[360] I am very anxious about them both.

You will say on reading this scrawl that I have little right to abus<e> [obscured word] Hatchard's writing.

I shall rejoyce if you will favour me with an account of you all, and remain my dear Madam with kind remembrances to your uncle very faithfully Yours

H. More

Saturday 15

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[358] Martha (Patty) More had her share of ill health, along with her sisters. Hannah More writes to Mr. Knox in June, 1816 that Patty suffers from "a liver case" (Roberts, II, 217).

[359] See above, letter No. 71.

[360] Elizabeth More, second oldest of the five More sisters, had died in the fall of 1816.

75. To Mr. Addington 21 February 1817

Endorsed name, date and extra endorsement, same hand.

[no salutation]

I had hoped I had received my manumission and began to think I had done with rhyming, but a letter from Mr. Butterworth expressed a wish that I would write a few lines for the Anti-Cobbett.[361] I am indeed so much pleased with this very useful little work that I have scribbled the inclosed as kind of Advertisement for it in the shape of a Song, or to be placed at the end of one of their numbers if it is approved. I am doing mon possible to circulate Anti-Cobbett. Bulgin sold 200 in a couple of days. I think you will smile at the prudence of our Neighbours who have a little Book, or rather Magasine Club. I sent Anti-Cobbett to them when it was agreed at a general meeting they would take one Copy; I hope I have laughed them out of this excess of Discretion.[362]

Pray thank Mrs. A. for her very kind letter. A line from her will always be valued as it ought.

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[361] Here is evidence that Mr. Butterworth is editing The Anti-Cobbett or Weekly Patriotic Register. This is the publication to which More contributed tracts from February to April, 1817. She called this publication "an antidote to William Cobbett's Two-Penny Trash." It was sold for a penny halfpenny in order to undercut Cobbett's price (See Jones, Hannah More, 203).

[362] More's disgust at this Club's excessive discretion results from her belief that patriotism is demonstrated by buying anti-seditious works in bulk and distributing them. See also letter No. 103 below.

Y^rs^ dear Sir most Truly

HM.

B. Wood.

Saturday night

Be so good as convey the inclosed doggerel to Mr. Butterworth.

76. To Mr. Addington [March 1817]

Endorsed name. Four page letter, page one folded inside. No salutation. Enclosed verses.

Do not imagine my dear Sir by the inclosed Address[363] that I am breaking my word with a long suffering and forbearing public, and imposing on their good nature by further anilities. You are to understand that some hungry booksellers[364] have printed all my early works, chiefly poetry, to the serious injury of Cadell & Co. who paid me a very handsome price for the youthful trifles. These practical gentry have printed them in small cheap elegant volumes, decorated with vignettes, and most imprudently "with Memoirs of the Author"!! This you will allow is rather too bad. Cadell has been counteracting this by printing them in the same small cheap size which seems fully to have ^answered^ his end, it is nothing to me, having sold the things; but I feel it fair to fight for my booksellers of forty years.[365] He is about to print another large Vol. of these pieces[366] which as It will be more acceptable at least to the eye, I shall hope to have the honour of laying at Mr. Addington's feet.

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[363] See below.

[364] I have not found evidence of the pirated work to which More refers in 1817. However, one work, listed in the NUC and printed in 1818, fits the pattern that More mentions here. It is a new edition of her Sacred Dramas, printed at London by C. Whittingham et al "with a memoir of the author." This work came with vignette and head pieces.

[365] Cadell and Davies. See Letter No. 19.

I am ashamed to have said so much about it, but I was so afraid you would say with Pope "The creature's at his dirty work again."[367]

I hope you give me credit for my abstinence in not having added a feather to your weight during the heavy day-labours and night-watchings you have been encountering. Indeed indignation alone would have kept me silent.

I wish you would look at Pope's Imitation of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, or rather at the ode itself -- I mean the opening especially. -- "Th'unwilling gratitude of base mankind &.[368] Tho not very political yet I have seldom felt more for human nature than at the Atrocious speakers in your house. I wish Mr. Brougham[369] would confine his talents to his ten grievances & Mischiefs in the Edinburgh Review. Mr. Dickinson's [370] report of the Wells meeting was not very correct. This Country in general was far from hostile to the Property Tax. Poor me and our neighbours in general were for it.

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[366] Poems of Hannah More. 405 pages, illustrated. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1816. This handsome volume sports leather binding with tastefully-coloured covers in muted reds, blues and yellows. The title page contains an illustration of a "Rustic Building at Barley Wood."

[367] From Alexander Pope's An Epistle From Mr. Pope to Dr. Arbuthnot, 1734, 92. More uses this quotation, slightly altered, in a letter to the Miss Roberts the same year. She writes: "the creature's at her dirty work again" (Roberts, II, 225).

[368] From Pope's Epistle of the Second Book of Horace, line 14 in Poems, 195. That mankind is base, More has no doubt; her religious beliefs support this view. Yet More's remarks indicate that she regrets the baseness of certain members of Parliament, especially Brougham, in this instance. See note below.

There was certainly decency even in those who felt most gratitude to an Administration who had not only been upright but successful, who after difficulties unparalleled had landed us not only in safety but in glory -- blessed be God! My friend Mr. Davis[371] has kindly sent us regular information during this critical ^Period^. He has done himself great honour by his Letter to the Mayor of

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[369] Henry Peter, Baron Brougham (1778-1868), joined the founders of the Edinburgh Review in 1802. Although he was favoured by More's great friend, William Wilberforce, because he sympathized with the anti-slavery movement, Brougham has irritated More in this instance. He had been recently involved in the issue of Parliamentary reform, particularly universal suffrage. In January of 1817 he challenged the framers of petitions for reform to find some historical precedent for universal suffrage. Perhaps More worried that a precedent would be found. (See Gentleman's Magazine, February, 1816, 124). Then, on 13 March, 1817, Brougham made a four-part motion that called for consideration for manufacturers with regard to current government policies on restricted imports and heavy taxation. His motion was defeated but it could have elicited More's exasperation with him.

[370] This might be William Dickinson (1746-1822) who was a topographer, legal writer and Justice of the Peace.

[371] Hart-Davis, MP.

Bristol,[372] for he has sacrificed his popularity to his principles.

I hope your ancles[373] have recovered their strength and that Mrs. Addington & are well, to whom I beg to offer my best respects, I am ever

my dear Sir Yours
obliged and faithful

B. Wood
H. More

Thursday

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[372] I have found no record of this letter.

[373] i.e. From the swelling and pain of gout.

SEPARATE DOCUMENT WITH LETTER No. 76. Endorsed "Mrs. H. More."

An Address to the Meeting in Spa Fields

What follies, what falsehoods were uttered in vain,
To disturb our repose by that Jacobin Paine![374]
Shall Britons, that traitor who scorned to obey,
Of Cobbett, & Hunt[375] now become the vile prey?

The Knaves think to cheat you in friendship's disguise,
For all they have told you they know to be lies;
They mean not to serve you, you are but their tools
How dare they cajole you as if you were fools?

They'd make you their dupes on your shoulders they'd ride
And when they have used you they'd kick you aside.
Then shun these deceivers to England be true
And care not for miscreants, who care not for you.

Now hear a kind friend, I'll tell you a story
How poor faithful Britons may rise to true glory;
For you'll ne'er mind your fortunes, nor help the just cause
By breaking of windows or breaking of laws.

That "England expects you should all do your duty"[376]

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[374] Thomas Paine promoted revolution in the 1790s. He was charged with sedition, escaped to France, and then to America, where he died. Paine had been burned in effigy more often than anyone else except Guy Fawkes during the tumultuous 1790s. E.P. Thompson points out that many of these burnings had been set up by the government to give the false impression that the common people disagreed with Paine. See Customs in Common.

[375] The key speaker at the Spa Fields meeting.

[376] Lord Nelson signalled the start of the Battle of Trafalgar with the words: "England expects every man to do his duty!" (See Southey, Trafalgar, 27). Nelson's words contributed to what Linda Colley calls the "cult of elite heroism." She relates another example of words that were immortalized in the British culture -- the alleged last heroic words of General Sir John Moore when he was mortally wounded at the Battle of Coruna in the Peninsular War (1809): "'I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice.'" Colley enjoys pointing out that Moore was a Scot. (Colley, Forging the Nation, 182).

Is a phrase I am sure that cannot be new t' ye;
But can you your Hero so sadly affront,
To confound the great Nelson[377], with Cobbett & Hunt?

Shall men who once conquer'd at famed Trafalgar
Begin at Spa Field^s^ to wage Civil War?
Shall the glory of Englishmen ever be stained
Shall Spa fields thus lose all that Waterloo[378]
gained?

They assert that misfortune no farther can go; x
They forgot that a prison is still greater woe.
They tell you "the Climax of misery is gained" x
They forgot to inform you a Gibbet[379] remained.

Thus to prisons, & gibbets these Traitors would bring
The Briton who now loves his Country & King,
Then cheer up my Lads, be patient awhile,
Abhor these deceivers who stab while they smile.

The rich meet together your wants to redress,
They pity your sorrows, they mourn your distress;
They deny themselves daily, of all they can spare[380]
Their poor honest neighbours shall have a good share.

Employment they'll give to the able & strong,
And nourishing food to the helpless & young;
And He[381] who the multitude graciously fed
Will not long from his Servants withold daily bread.

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[377] Nelson led the British Navy to victory at the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805. He died as the result of this conflict.

[378] The victory at Waterloo had been achieved on 18 June 1815.

[379] The gallows.

[380] In this and other works that More writes for public consumption, she indicates that the rich are charitable toward the poor. But in letters such as Nos. 60 and 71 of this collection, she admits to John Addington that the rich are not concerned with anyone but themselves. This interesting discrepancy supports the idea that More and her contemporaries believed that rhetoric such as this ballad was so powerful it could allay real social inequities for the poor and convince the rich that they should be charitable.

[381] Jesus Christ in feeding the five thousand.

See the Address

77. To Mrs. Addington March 1817

Endorsed, name, date

My dear Madam

It is with the greatest concern we have just seen in the Papers that Mr. Addington has been extremely ill,[382] or rather that by pronouncing him to be better, we infer that he must have been very ill. Most earnestly do I hope that if it be so that he is on the recovery. Anxiety and hard labour have I doubt not contributed their full share to this misfortune.

Will you have this goodness to beg the favour of Miss Addington to give me a line by return of post as we shall be very anxious to know the truth.

Things go on sadly here. My poor Sister Sarah I fear will never be better. Her suffering in her leg and foot are agonizing, with very little interval of ease. Patty is in a very weak way and has a bad opinion of herself. I am much distrest about them.

What times do we live in! O that wicked Opposition![383] but it is very impotent. I must say however that in all quarters as far as my intercourse goes, the vigilance and activity of the Home department are gratefully acknowledged.

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[382] More's remark suggests that Mr. Addington suffers from more than gout by this point.

[383] The Whigs opposed Sidmouth's call for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. And although the motion was carried when Lord Grenville and his supporters voted for suspension, which caused a split in the Opposition, More labels the entire opposition with this all-encompassing, negative term.

I will not enlarge on other subjects. The best respects of this invalid house attend you and yours.

I am ever my
dear Madam
Yours faithfully
Saturday night H. More

I snatch up a bad scrap of paper[384] as I had but two minutes.

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[384] This note is written on a half sheet of paper.

78. To Mrs. Addington [Spring 1817]

No endorsement. Black wax seal.

My dear Madam

I hope ere this you have had the comfort of recovery Mr. A. and a good health. But lest this should not be the case, I beg leave to ask if you can send a supply of the new Songs & Tracts we have some plans[385] which cannot be executed for want of these. My hands indeed are tied thro fear,[386] but Miss R has some active friends to whom they can write and hope to be able to prevail on them to print at their own expense. I fear they have been a little torpid at Bristol as we cannot hear if any Songs distributed there. Mr. A will be obliged put us in a way to be useful in our small way. We shall hope to see him au plutot.

Yours ever my dear Madam

most faithfully

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[385] More must have devised additional distribution schemes.

[386] More is afraid to admit authorship or sponsorship of polemical material during these times of political unrest. Recently, the Addingtons, John and Lord Sidmouth, had been blamed for actually creating suspicion and social unrest through their over-zealous use of spies. The most notorious was W. J. Richards, alias Oliver the Spy, a failed builder who was hired by the Home Office. He is known to have exaggerated the degree of organization of the rebellious working classes and also the government's ability to control seditious activities. Oliver's sleuthing actually encouraged revolutionary thinking which led to blame being laid on the Home Office for their having hired him in the first place.

79. To Mr. Addington March 1817

Endorsed in More's handwriting her name, the date and "State Trials."[387] Addressed to "Right Hon J. H. Addington/ no address, seal or postmark.

My dear Sir

Many thanks for your kindness in sending the Derby Report.[388] It is an awful but a most salutary close. I am glad there are to be some examples. It is high time. The Speeches of the Prisoners Counsel Denman and Cross are highly offensive. I admire the forbearance of the Crown tho I would not imitate it. These decisions I trust will put a stop to rebellion for a long time.

I wish I knew you were quite well, a piece of intelligence I hope to receive soon from Langford Court. I am my dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

H. More

I take great liberties with my packets.

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[387] See next note.

[388] A trial for high treason had opened on October 16, 1816 at Derby. There were thirty-five rioters arraigned; nineteen were found guilty and sentenced to hang.

80. To Mr. Addington 24 April 1817

Endorsed name. Addressed to "Mr. Addington" but docketed with letters to Mrs. Addington.

My dear Sir

I felt a real desire to know something of the state of your health and am much obliged to you for gratifying that desire. I confess however I was disappointed, as well as concerned, that the report was not more favourable. A good west wind I am inclined to think would be your best physician, as it would I believe be ours. A white frost this morning I hear has cut off the Gooseberries, and of course done other and greater mischief. The cold still keeps me a prisoner which I have been since the middle of September, tho I am reasonably well. Mr. James[389] thought a week ago my poor Sister Sarah would not live 24 hours. She is however now at a stand. The mortification, large as it is does not increase. Patty very poorly.

Our alarms on the score of Cobbett[390] Hart Cochrane Burdett, --[391] I could go on to add more creditable

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[389] Physician to Sarah More. She died on 17 May, 1817. See also letter No. 99.

[390] By this time, Sidmouth's repressive legislation had convinced Cobbett that his arrest was imminent; he arranged to take refuge in America.

[391] Sir Francis Burdett (1770-1844), MP for Westminster, promoted parliamentary reform. He had been imprisoned in 1810 on political charges. In 1817, he was to have taken a huge petition for reform from Henry Hunt at Spa Fields to Parliament. He decided against participating in this exercise;

(continued...)

names, -- is now alive to the Catholic question.[392] What Member can vote in its favour who has read the new History of the Jesuits.[393] This book I believe will be reviewed in the next number of the "British",[394] as it will be out just in time, pray recommend the perusal of this critique to your Friends, and then let them support their claims if they can! It is equally unaccountable and afflicting to me to see how good men take it up.

I take the liberty to trouble you with the parcel as it contains papers of some importance. I would not venture it by Post.

Our united best respects to your ladies. I am

My dear Sir

Your obliged

and faithful

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[391](...continued) another of the Radical MPs, Lord Cochrane, received the petition into the House.

[392] The issue of granting Catholics their civil rights was promoted again in the 1817 session of Parliament. The vote was to be taken on 9 May, 1817, only two weeks after this letter. The vote was 243 against, 241 for relief.

[393] Two volumes, printed in London by Baldwin and Company, 1816. In Roberts' twenty-four page review of this work in the British Review, he argues against this "iniquitous fraternity" (431) whose influence was spreading by way of a large Jesuit college in Lancashire. Roberts was alarmed that Protestants, including MPs of the district, have made contributions to this Catholic school and that the local booksellers were afraid to sell books against Popery.

[394] The British Review and London Critical Journal, Vol IX (February, 1817): 430-54.

Barley Wood H. More

24 April 1817

81. To Mrs. Addington [Summer 1817]

Unendorsed. Tiny e Note.

My dear Madam

Many thanks for your very kind attention in sending us the Birds.[395] I hope these refreshing showers will repair some of the dreaded evils of drought.[396]

We hope to see you soon. P.[397] and I have been confined partly as Invalids, and partly with a sick and then with a new horse --[398] Yours ever my dear Madam most truly

H. More

---

[395] Probably pheasants.

[396] The effects of drought would be felt most noticeably during the summer months. I have dated this note with More's comments about the weather in mind.

[397] Patty (Martha) More died in September, 1819; this letter was written before that date and presumably after Sarah's (Sally's) death since she is not mentioned.

[398] In a letter included by William Roberts with More's correspondence of early 1817, she tells Miss Roberts about a recently-bought young horse, costing 42 guineas, who was used only once and now had a fatal disease. The Mores had to pay eight pounds to get rid of the horse (Roberts, II, 228). Also see below, letter No. 91.

82. To Mr. Addington 5 November 1817

Endorsed name, date. Two page letter/black wax seal.
WRINGTON Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^ J. H.
Addington/Secretary of States Office/Whitehall/London."

Tuesday Night

My dear Sir

I have but this instant received your kind letter. The thanks I owe you for your interesting communication respecting the fate of the rebels[399] should have been deferred -- to a future day -- but I cannot rest a moment nor should I sleep in my bed, if I deferred answering. The concluding passage of your letter. -- My dear Sir I am absolutely horror-struck at your suggestion, or rather as you have stated it, my suggestion about a supposed debt for that trumpery printing.[400] Never, no never did such a shabby thought cross my mind, and I beg you will banish it from yours that you [crossed off word] ever entertained it. My Sister is ^as^ much astonished at it as myself, nor can either of us conceive how such a notion could arise; a notion so opposed to all my feelings and intentions that I cannot conceive what I could have said that could have given birth to it. What could you think of me?

Mrs. and Miss Addington are both looking in high health.

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[399] In the fall of 1817, Sidmouth released many of the people who, earlier in the year, had been detained by the Suspension Act.

[400] More explains this issue in her next letter, No. 60.

My poor Sister[401] much indisposed.

In great haste yours
My dear Sir
very sincerely
H. More

---

[401] Martha (Patty) More. Hannah More describes Patty's illness in a letter to Mr. Knox the previous year: "Her complaint is a liver case, and the reigning feature of it a determination of blood to the head" (Roberts II, 217). Thompson notes that Patty continued to have "pains in the head" (Thompson, Life, 288).

83. To Mr. Addington 6 November 1817

Endorsed name, date.Red wax seal. WRINGTON. Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble^ J. H. Addington/ Secretary of State's Office/Whitehall/London."

My dear Sir

In the hurry of my self-exculpation last night I omitted the principal evidence in my plea of not guilty. All my halfpenny and penny learned lucubrations from the riots in 1793 to the riots in 1817 I have made a present of to the Printers, allowing them to make whatever they can for their own clear profit, and a great deal of money they have been in the habit of getting from this small game.[402] They have never since the first year (when the expense was very great) expected me to pay for the printing, of course the money which I have never paid I could never "hint" that I expected to receive. Every ^year^ since 1793 I have bought some thousand of my own Tracts[403] at the common price so -- of course this year more than usual.

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[402] More's discussion illuminates the financial arrangements that she had maintained for over twenty years with the printers of her "vulgar" works. These arrangements provided two types of opportunities: printers from the working classes could make money by promoting More's tracts; More could achieve her objective of reaching as many people of the lower orders as possible with her counter-revolutionary and counter-reform messages.

[403] More distributed her tracts to the poor of her acquaintance -- a considerable number given her association with so many people in the villages where she had established schools. The tracts were used too, as teaching materials in her schools.

The last day we had the pleasure of seeing you I now recollect I had just been packing off an immense Cargo as a present to the loyal and zealous Clergyman at Sheffield, a place I was very anxious to furnish with my poor antidotes. Now I might say in jest to you,[404] as I did to another friend, how fond must an author be of his own works that was always buying them! but I am not sure I said it to you.

Pray excuse this second trouble. That amiable party Mr. and Mrs. Inglis and the two oldest Thorntons[405] have just written to invite themselves to spend a week here. -- You will pity me when I say I have been obliged to write to decline seeing them -- I felt much in doing so, but the very bad health of my now sole sister,[406] and my own health always very poorly in Winter made it next to impossible to see even these interesting friends in the middle of November. I wish we could bring our friends to come to us only in Summer, fine weather long days and our pretty country are a great relief, but winter guests do not suit age and infirmity constantly increasing.

I beg your pardon for these domestic petty details, and am ever my dear Sir

---

[404] More is delighted with this opportunity to make fun of herself, although she makes clear that she chooses carefully the recipients of such jests.

[405] This statement supports the idea that the Inglises are the people who taken on the care of the Thornton orphans. See letter No. 59 above.

[406] Martha More.

Yours very faithfully

H. More

Pray send our friend Roberts' Review of the Life of Sheridan[407] in the last British Review. It is just come and I have not gone far in it.

Barley Wood

Nov 5 --

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[407] William Roberts attributes intellectual genius to Sheridan who achieved greatness without the help of "moral sobriety of sentiments, and virtuous decorum of conduct" (243). Roberts credits the biographer, John Watkins, for portraying Sheridan in a completely honest way without apologizing for the less heroic aspects of Sheridan's life. No doubt More would agree with Roberts' assessment. See The British Review and London Critical Journal (November, 1817): 241-95.

84. To Mr. Addington 12 December 1817

Endorsed name, date. Black wax seal. Addressed to "The Right Hon^ble^ / J. H. Addington/ Langford court."

My dear Sir

I was just about writing to Miss Addington to request particulars respecting the state of your invalid,[408] when your very agreeable note arrived. It is indeed a pleasing, and to me a quite unlooked for, termination of our mercantile adventures.[409] I am glad Hambury chose to keep off. I highly approve the clause which binds the dealers to purchase in our stead,[410] with the menace attending it.

Mr. and Miss Vansittart[411] made us a visit yesterday accompanied by the Dean of Bristol. They were engaged to come the day before but the Queen[412] commanded their

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[408] Mrs. Addington's illness continues to be a topic in the next several letters.

[409] Conclusion of the calamine project. More's language reveals the enjoyment she gets from her business dealings with Addington.

[410] The gentry are once-removed from the actual business transactions involving the purchase of Calamine from the Shipham and Rowberrow miners.

[411] Nicholas Vansittart had been at school with the Addington men and was recruited into Henry Addington's administration. He and his family were good friends of Mores as well. See also letter No. 18 above.

[412] Queen Charlotte, wife of King George III, concerned herself with domestic affairs: she had fifteen children. She was a generous benefactor of charities for women and children, specifically the Magdalen Hospital and Queen Charlotte's Maternity Hospital; she founded a Sunday School at Windsor. More's Female Clubs as well as her Sunday schools were

(continued...)

attendance on her visit to Bristol. The Vansittarts seemed pleased with our Country. To be sure the Valley which skirts Mendip is very unlike the "Suburban[413] Villas" of London [which-struck out] I used to tell my friends there, is like Hay-making in an Opera.

I should have been glad to hear that Mrs. A. had been going on more than "tolerably". Miss V. was very particular in her inquiries after her. They regretted that time did not allow their calling at Langford court, which they called Langford Castle.

With best respects to Mrs. A. I remain my dear Sir

Y^rs^ very sincerely

H. More

---

[412](...continued) interests and activities she had in common with this Queen. The Vansittarts would have given the More sisters an account of the Queen's visit to Bristol.

[413] Johnson's dictionary lists two occurrences of this word in the works of Shakespeare and Dryden during the seventeenth century.

85. To Mrs. Addington 6 January 1818

Endorsed name, date.

My dear Madam

If you were a military[414] instead of a civil lady, no apologies would atone for the great crime of making a tiny present.

We first thought a little of the brown bread,[415] to which you are so partial, might tempt you to eat, but we now take another view of the question -- brown bread may perhaps not be light enough for your stomach in its present delicate state -- will you pardon it then, if a little loaf of what I think, peculiar whiteness, accompanies its dark complexioned companion? We were grieved to hear by Mr. Addington's kind note that he was still so much of an Invalid.[416] I earnestly hope that you have had no repetition of those painful attacks since.

---

[414] More alludes to a scandal involving the Duke of York and his mistress, Mary Anne Clarke, who took bribes from military men in exchange for her encouraging the Duke to promote them. Once her antics were exposed, Clarke published a libellous pamphlet about Colonel Wardle, one of her lovers, as well as publishing the Duke of York's love letters. She was fined and jailed for nine months but she received 7000 pounds and a pension from the crown for stopping the press on the love letters. More uses Clarke's notoriety for bribery in conjunction with her own attempt to bribe Mrs. Addington to eat.

[415] Bread, the staple of the British working class diet, figured largely in More's work and times. For example, in her tract "The Riot: or, Half a loaf is better than no bread," More addresses the desperate state of the lower orders which occurred in the famine of 1795. The price of corn (i.e. grain, from which the lower classes made bread) determined how well or how poorly they ate. In 1807, Madison organized an American trade embargo which meant that bread would continue to be scarce in England. And the Napoleonic Wars exacerbated the circumstances of poor crops and drought conditions throughout the 1810s. However, just eighteen months before this letter was written, the Gentleman's Magazine reported the repeal of the Assize of Bread within the area of Greater London; the right to search bakers' shops was abolished and penalties on short bread were to be assessed only on bread sold. These changes indicate that economic conditions had improved and the supply of bread had increased. Although Mrs. Addington apparently prefers brown bread, More's description below of "a peculiar whiteness" of bread exposes her culture's ideas that refined people were thought of in the same light as refined bread.

No answer I beseech you except a verbal one to say how both are. Yours my dear Madam very truly

H. More

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[416] John Addington's health deteriorates steadily from this point until his death in June, 1818.

86. To Miss Addington 1818

Endorsed 1818. Brief note.

My dear Miss Addington

We are very unwilling to be troublesome in our enquiries, but are really anxious to have some account of Mrs. Addington,[417] the late reports not having been favourable. One line therefore will much oblige us.

The day we had the favour of seeing Mr. Addington I was taken ill just as he left us -- it was a bilious fever from which I have suffered a good deal, and have not yet got rid of it tho I am got down stairs. With best respects I am my dear Madam

yours sincerely

H. More

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[417] Here we have an indication that Mrs. Addington is quite ill, along with her husband.

87. To Miss Addington 1818 - [Spring]

Seal. No postmark

My dear Madam

I should have enquired after your patients[418] before but have been confined several days to my bed with a most severe cold. I am sitting up a little to day but without being much better. -- My Sister is in bed with the same malady. Tho neither of us have been out of the door since the beginning of October.

I am grieved to hear of Mr. Addington's relapse.[419] Dear Lady Olivia[420] had her hand on her poor Son's head praying for a peaceful dismission - her prayer was heard. He died without a groan, she knew not the moment.

Best respects to Mr. and Mrs. A - Y^rs^ most

faithfully

H. More

---

[418] Mr. and Mrs. Addington.

[419] This relapse eventually results in Sir John's death several months later.

[420] Lady Olivia Sparrow.

88. To Miss Addington 1818 [Spring]

Endorsed name, year. WRINGTON/Langford court. Seal.

My dear Miss Addington

I must again intrude upon your kindness to favour me, literally with one line, nay one word will do, if that word be -- better. This uncommon weather[421] must have been I fear very trying to your invalids. I hope the winds have spared Mr. Addington's fine Elms -- our treillage to the West has again been nearly demolished. There has not been one dry day at [undecipherable word] for above two months, so we have only neighbour's fare. With best respects to Mr. & Mrs. A. I am dear Madam

truly yours H. More

---

[421] The Spring of 1818 brought much inclement weather. The Gentleman's Magazine notes that there was snow on 22 February, sleet on 9 March and a hail storm on 24 March, with many rainy days between.

89. To Miss Addington March 1818

Endorsed "1818." No postmark. No salutation. Partial Red wax seal.

I cannot allow your servant my dear Madam to go back without thanking you for your kind note. Your intelligence indeed is far from comfortable. But I indulge every hope for both patients[422] if we should be blessed with real Spring weather. After a long and great illness of mine at Bath when I thought myself quite recovered Dr. Lovell[423] kept me in bed a fortnight lest the March Winds should take hold on me. The event answered I became well at once -- I do hope they will not venture out too soon for fear it should put them back.

I beg Mr. A. will not think of favouring me with a line, great as the pleasure would be to me if he would say he was quite well.

Y^rs^ most faithfully

H. More

---

[422] Mr. and Mrs. Addington.

[423] More's physician does not appear in common biographical sources.

90. To Miss Addington 1818 [Spring]

Endorsed "1818." Red wax seal/Langford Court/WRINGTON postmark.

My dear Miss Addington

It is with very great concern I learn the continued indisposition of both[424] Mr. and Mrs. Addington. I do not trouble you often with inquiries because I hear of the state of your invalids very frequently, but I grieve to find that the late accounts are much less favourable than they were some time ago. I have had myself a pretty severe attack which confined me some time to my bed and much longer to my room; I am now tolerably recovered and went to our little Green House[425] yesterday for the first time for six months. This return of good weather[426] gives the hope of being able to get out once more, but not till it is much warmer.

I beg you to assure Mr. and Mrs. A. of my true sympathy, and to believe me my dear Madam very sincerely Yours

---

[424] Although Mrs. Addington recovers from this illness, the situation would have been trying for her daughter. Mary Addington becomes the prime recipient of More's letters while her parents are both ill.

[425] More was a lifelong gardener. She extends her love of gardening to the idealized heroine of her novel, Coelebs, Lucilla Stanley. Lucilla loves gardening so much that she must take a watch into the garden so she will "be able to keep within her prescribed bounds" and will prevent "the improvement of her mind" from "giving way to the cultivation of her geraniums" (Coelebs, 166). Perhaps More too experiences some guilt when she enjoys her gardening too much.

[426] I have placed this letter in the spring season with the help of this statement and More's reference to her Green House.

H. More

Wednesday

91. To Miss Addington 1818 [Spring]

Endorsed "1818." Evidence of seal. WRINGTON/ Langford court.

My dear Miss Addington

For ten days past I have been waiting for a morning dry enough to present myself at your door. That morning has this day presented itself, but one of the horses before he reached the door fell down with sudden sickness,[427] and I fear the worst.

I am therefore obliged to trouble you again with my earnest enquiries after Mr. Addington about whom I am truly anxious to hear, not having had intelligence by any neighbour for some days. I am sorry to add a feather to the weight of correspondence you must have upon your head but one line will be satisfactory. My Sister continues to suffer much.

You will believe we were mortified to be neither of us able to attend the grand Bishop of St. Davids[428] when he preached at Wrington.

---

[427] Keeping horses healthy was a challenge for their owners. The year before, in a letter to Miss Roberts, More describes the fatal disease of her young horse who had been recently purchased for 42 guineas (Roberts II, 228). See also letter No. 81 above.

[428] Thomas Burgess was bishop of a cathedral named St. David's in Pembrokeshire, Wales. He was a scholar and a proponent of education; he arranged for a collegiate education for the clergy of his large Welsh diocese. He was later "translated" (DNB) to the Bishop of Salisbury.

I am willing to hope Mrs. Addington has had no relapse. To her and Mr. A. pray present our best respects and cordial good wishes. I am my dear Madam

Friday Y^rs obliged and faithfull

H. More

92. To Miss Addington 1818 [Spring]

Endorsed "1818." Red wax seal.

My dear Miss Addington

It is with the most heartfelt concern we hear of the continued, and I fear increased sufferings of Mrs. Addington.[429] The want of horses only prevents my making my inquiries at your door. Tho we hear almost every day I cannot forbear troubling you with a line. I do not wish to give you the trouble of writing, of which you have doubtless more than enough, but I beg the favour of particular information by the servant verbally.

You cant conceive how much I felt Mr. Addington's kindness in the effort he must have made to write that kind note.[430] My Sister and myself truly sympathize in his sufferings, for we both know what it is to suffer.

I was glad to learn yesterday that Mr. Henry Addington was come.[431] It must be a great comfort to you all. I hope Mrs. A. has not lost any ground since I had the great satisfaction of seeing her. With best wishes and prayers for the increased comfort of your house I am

---

[429] I have found no clue as to the nature of Mrs. Addington's lengthy illness of this time period.

[430] John Addington attempts to continue, in spite of his ill health, the close epistolary friendship he has developed with More.

[431] Son of Mr. and Mrs. Addington. He must have been called home from abroad by this sister, Mary, because of the long illnesses of their parents.

My dear Madam

Yours very sincerely

H. More

I lament to hear that Shipham and Rowberrow are again in great distress[432]. We have almost as many visits[433] from both as we had last year.

---

[432] More writes to the Misses Roberts (1818) that Mr. Perry attended a Justice meeting at Langford where there was a promise made to look into the renewed grievances of Shipham and Rowberrow. Meanwhile, More reports that she and her friends paid off the Club debts of "nearly every woman in both parishes . . . by begging, borrowing and giving" (Roberts II, 261).

[433] The villagers were accustomed to visiting Barley Wood in times of need. More assisted them on a regular basis.

93. To Miss Addington 1818

Endorsed name, year. Seal.

Dear Madam

We have company and I can only say we are entirely in the interest of Sir J. Lethbridge[434]. I wish our power was equal to our good will.

H M --

---

[434] Sir John Lethbridge contested, but did not win a Somerset seat in June, 1818. The History of Parliament reports Lethbridge having said that he lost the election because he did not come forward early enough and he did not canvass the three days prior to the nomination (History of Parliament, II, 341).

94. To Miss Addington 12 June 1818

Addressed to Miss Addington/Langford Court/WRINGTON postmark. Endorsed [by Mary Addington?] "recd Saturday June 12 1818."

My dear Miss Addington

I fear I am wrong in writing a line to you at this awful period,[435] but in so doing I rather obey the dictates of my heart than the customs of cold ceremony. I can no longer forbear saying how deeply we sympathize with dear Mrs. Addington and the rest of your mourning party. I need not express my heartfelt sorrow for the valuable friend we lament; you will give me credit for entering into all your feelings for your irreparable loss. This is one of the occasions in which we are led to see the impotence of human friendship which can only feel while it can do nothing.[436]

We are anxious for Mrs. A's health, but I trust that the expectation of this heavy blow will have in some degree broke the weight of it, I mean as far as it respects the delicate state of her health.

Remember you are not to think of answering this note, all I expect from you is your pardon for having ventured to write it.

---

[435] John Addington had died the day before, on 11 June, 1818.

[436] More's expression indicates her agreement with Samuel Johnson's Rambler No. 64 on friendship. He states: "Thus imperfect are all earthly blessings" (Samuel Johnson, Rambler No. 64, 339-44).

Tho such poor prayers as mine are of little value, they continue to be offered up for the living as they continu(ally) were for the departed friend.

Yours ever my dear Madam

very faithfully

H. More

Barley Wood Saturday Morn.

95. To Miss Addington 1818

Endorsed year. Addressed to Langford Court.

My dear Madam

I forbore to thank you for your very kind and interesting note; I was truly obliged to you for writing under such circumstances.

I am willing to hope that Mrs. Addington's spirits obtain gradual composure,[437] and trust it will please God to strengthen her more and more both in body and mind. Change of scene and air[438] is most likely to produce a favourable effect on both, and it is a measure to which I hope she be prevailed on to resort, as soon as may be proper and convenient for her.

I would on no account intrude but as soon as she is able and disposed to see ^me^, I shall have a melancholy pleasure in calling on her. I hope her friends[439] will not to be [sic] forward on this occasion, her own feelings and nothing else are to be consulted.

---

[437] More is acutely aware of the stages of grief since she has, by this time, outlived so many of her friends and relations.

[438] Although she herself does not often practice this common-sense prescription for relief from sadness, More advises Mary Addington that it would be good for her mother.

[439] Characteristically, More prescribes appropriate behaviour for young Mary Addington so that Mary will take care to shield her mother from excessive emotional and physical strain.

We expect poor Lady Elton[440] this evening for a couple of days. She is almost heart broken, and so I hear is Sir Abraham at the very offensive conduct of their son. His language at the [wax covers word] Election[441] was very little better, if at all, than that of Hunt.

With best regards to Mrs. A. and my fervent good wishes

I remain dear Madam

Yours sincerely

H. More

Pray remember me to the two Gentlemen.[442]

Monday morn.

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[440] Wife of Sir Abraham Elton, who had acted as mediator for More during the Blagdon controversy twenty years earlier. See Introduction.

[441] Henry Hunt contested Westminster in the election of 1818. The Eltons' son was also involved in this election.

[442] The two gentlemen are quite likely Haviland and his brother, Henry Unwin Addington, who would have been at Langford Court just after their father's death.

96. To Miss Addington July 1818

Addressed to Langford Court/WRINGTON. Endorsed July 1818.

B. Wood

My dear Miss Addington Monday

I take the liberty to ask Mrs. Addington through you, if she can be so good as give us two or three cucumbers, ours being quite gone. I am afraid of asking too much, if I add that should you have a great abundance of the most common fruits you would bestow on us a small dish or two. We have a good deal of our own, so dont rob yourselves if not very much. It is for our dinner on Thursday next after the Bible meeting --[443] Alas! you ^both^ were with us last year. If you favour me with half a line by post to say yes, we will send a boy early Thursday morning.

I shall rejoyce to hear that Mrs. Addington gains ground. With my cordial respects to her I am ever, my dear Madam

Best respects to Mrs. Bathurst Sincerely yours

---

[443] A branch meeting of one of Britain's great Bible Societies, The British and Foreign Bible Society, which distributed Bibles and Christian knowledge with the support of the Church. More had established a branch of this society in Wrington Parish sometime in 1814. Following the annual meeting of 1816, the Mores hosted over one hundred lay people and clergy to tea in the garden and then to dinner at Barley Wood (See M.G. Jones, 209). The meeting to which More refers in this letter took place on 9 July, 1818 (See Roberts II, 259). According to M.G. Jones, More was prevented, by failing health, from attending the meetings of the other great society, The Church Missionary Society, which held its May anniversary meetings in Bristol. However, many clergy who did attend those meetings visited Barley Wood while they were in the vicinity.

[NOTE ON BACK -- TO MR. HENRY ADDINGTON?]

Dear Sir Thos Acland! Never was man so graceful in defeat.[444] Sir James Riddel[445] who was to have brought us the Account says, he has lost his Seat but he has gained the Country -- He has won all hearts by his noble conduct. If you have not seen the Devon Paper I should like to send it to you.

---

[444] Acland was defeated at Devon in the election of 1818. With ninety-seven percent of votes taken, he withdrew when he trailed the second-place candidate by just sixteen votes. His gesture "redounded much to his credit" (History of Parliament, II, 98). More's optimism was prophetic; Acland was re-elected two years later as MP for Devon, and he served until 1830.

[445] James Riddell is listed in Debrett's Baronetage as the youngest son of Rev. Henry Riddell, who was born in 1745. Debrett's notes that the family was of Norman descent, originally having "settled in Roxburghshire" (744).

97. To Mrs. Addington 6 November 1818

Endorsed name, date. Paper very dirty. Addressed to WRINGTON/Langford Court.

My dear Madam

Many thanks for your kind inquiries. I do not think I have gained, but neither lost ground since the pleasure of seeing you. An almost incessant cough harasses me much.

An officious and very ill judged Paragraph in the newspapers[446] vexed me much, as it not only looked like an invitation to see company[447] which I had taken such pains to avoid, but made me appear in an impertinent light as if I thought the public had any thing to do with my being sick or well -- 'tis contradicted.

I live chiefly but not entirely in my room, and see as few as possible. I shall be happy to make you one of the exceptions, whenever you happen to take your airing this way.

---

[446] William Roberts notes that in the fall of 1818, both Hannah More and her sister, Patty, had an "alarming illness" (II, 262). The symptoms included shivering and knife-like pain in the limbs and body, followed by burning fits, and nausea. These symptoms resemble those of severe food poisoning. Visits were suspended, which gave More the time to begin work on her "Moral Sketches" (See letter No. 100 below). A paragraph in the London papers must have announced the More sisters' recovery.

[447] More's views about having company vary. She writes to Rev. Daniel Wilson in a letter of 1818 that "most of my letters go to persons whom I have never seen, and most of my days are taken up by visitors whom I do not know" (Roberts II, 257). Yet, she delights in relating to Sir W. W. Pepys the next year her "bold thing" of entertaining and enjoying the company of several hundred guests at a Barley Wood dinner and tea. See Roberts, II, 267.

I quite agree with you in my suspicions attending the death of poor Sir S. Romilly. So soon to follow Whitbread and by the same lamentable means![448] What a scene will Westminster again become!

Our friend Mr. Simpson Vicar of Congresbury from perfect health is dead of a quinsey[449] after two days illness, in the prime of life leaving a wife big with her sixth child. What a dying world is this. That to which we are going is alone the land of the living.

The sufferings of the poor queen[450] are terribly protracted. To day is the Anniversary of the death of her lamented granddaughter![451]

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[448] Each of these politicians died by his own hand. Samuel Romilly committed suicide after his wife died in 1818. Samuel Whitbread had committed suicide in 1815.

[449] Spelled quinsy, a severe case of tonsillitis. The word comes from the latin, quinancia, which in Greek means dog-throttling because the sufferer throws open his mouth like a dog, especially a mad dog (Brewers Dictionary, 887).

[450] Queen Charlotte, wife of King George III, died 17 November, 1818 after a painful illness.

[451] Princess Charlotte Augusta, heir to the throne, died 19 November 1817 in childbirth. At the time of the Princess's death More calls the event "a domestic calamity . . . a national visitation" (Roberts, II, 237). More had written her Hints towards forming the Character of a Young Princess for the nine-year old Princess in 1805. This work was thought to have contributed to the pleasing character of the Princess. It contained a well-rounded curriculum which included languages, literature, history and religion. This work of More's had led to her meeting with Queen Charlotte and Lady Elgin, the Princess' governess, to discuss the education of the Princess. Because the Princess was young, beautiful, and assertive, and because Britons had great hopes that she would be a far better monarch than her father, the Prince of Wales, her death was a great blow to everyone, including More.

I have not heard of Gen. Mckenzie[452] for some days.

My Sister adds her kind respects to those of my dear Madam

Yours very sincerely

H. More

Barley Wood.

Friday -- I am a day behind your calendar for your note is dated Saturday.

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[452] Colin Mackenzie, surveyor-general of India. Extensive reports of the British military efforts in India had appeared in the October issue of the Gentleman's Magazine.

98. To Mrs. Addington 11 November 1818

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Mrs. Addington." No address. Seal. No salutation.

Many thanks my dear Madam for the grand present of the very pretty gowns.[453] Patty is quite delighted and very grateful.

Dr. W's admired work "Civilization"[454] was sent to me, We ran over it cursorily to return it. My opinion is that the events are improbable not to say impossible -- Some of the characters overcharged the language not elegant the sentiments chiefly common place truisms -- in short a common novel. What the work has to do with the Title I cannot discover. It is all much out of Nature till the last volume which is much more interesting. How far the resemblance exists a more impartial reader than I must determine.[455]

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[453] Patty's gowns would have been fashioned somewhere between two extreme styles of gowns worn in the first half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, young women's gowns had been loose-fitting, high waisted, muslin frocks which buttoned at the back and were worn with only a chemise underneath. Gradually, gowns became more bell shaped, with tight waists and many petticoats, culminating in mid-century with crinolines which supported the bell image. Where young women usually wore white, the More sisters, at their advanced ages, would have worn darker colours such as cream or blue. Since she was a senior citizen at the time of this letter, Patty would have been grateful for conservatively-styled gowns. Always pragmatic, the More sisters were not too proud to accept hand-me-down clothing.

[454] Civilization; or, the Indian Chief and British Pastor, a fictional work by an anonymous author, printed for T. Egerton in London in 1818.

I am exceedingly obliged to my new Physician for the little box. Best [sic[remembrances to your party from

my dear Madam

Yours sincerely

H. More

We were sorry your servant ran away, as a little brown loaf which I take the liberty to send, would then have reached you quite hot.

Thursday

[ENDORSEMENT AT END -- probably Mrs. Addington]

Dr. W. l y [sic][456] had written to Mrs. H. More on the Subject of the Work she mentions which he was convinced was her writing.

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[455] More realizes that she is quite biased in her trouncing of this work. She is insulted that anyone, especially her good friend, Dr. Whalley, could have thought it to be her work.

[456] Must be Dr. Whalley, More's good friend and neighbour.

99. To Mrs. Addington 10 December 1818

Endorsed name, date. Paper folded, no address.

My dear Madam

It is a long time since we have had any news of you. I was very sorry you returned my little contribution; I beg leave to say that if the Subscription takes place under the auspices of Mr. Bathurst,[457] I shall be much obliged to you to let me know, as I shall most certainly send it back.

We had Mr. Mrs. and Miss Inglis[458] for one day and night last week, under our circumstances I was afraid to press for a longer visit. My Sister had had a severe feverish cold before they came, but was sufficiently recovered to see them for an hour in my room. When they took leave she went to the window to see them get into the carriage, but before they had got to the first gate she sank down in a moment in a fainting fit so intire and so long that I was under the greatest alarm thinking she was dying. -- She continued so languid that she spent several days lying on the Sofa, but thank God she has got gradually back to her usual low standard of health.

---

[457] It is difficult to determine which author's work or what charity has been proposed for a subscription.

[458] More sounds as if she would have enjoyed a longer visit, but she is acutely aware of the precariousness of her sister's health. She sacrifices her pleasure in order to spare Patty greater strain.

Thus does our gracious Father mercifully remind us that this is not our rest. May these frequent warnings quicken us in our Preparation for our final home.

Poor Mr. James[459] called here to day rather weak in spirits but recovering fast. His son, of whose professional abilities we have a very good opinion from the testimony of his Medical friends, is going immediately to enter into Partnership with him.

My Sister joins in best regards to yourself and Miss A. With my dear Madam

Your very sincere
and faithful
H. More

I shall be glad to hear that Mr. Henry Addington is better.[460]

B Wood

10 Dec^br^

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[459] The DNB lists a Hugh James, surgeon, who had died in 1817, the year before this letter was written. Since the Mr. James to whom More refers here is "rather weak in spirits but recovering fast," then either the DNB is mistaken about his death-date, or More knows a Mr. James who is not listed. The son of More's Mr. James is probably John Haddy James (1788-1869), who was surgeon to the Devon and Exeter Hospital 1816-58. He later won the Jacksonian Prize for a treatise on inflammation in 1821.

[460] At this point in 1818, all of the Addingtons connected to Langford Court have been ill or worse, with the exception of Mary Addington.

100. To Mrs. Addington 13 July 1819

Endorsed name, date. Also a pencil annotation "41 letters & notes." WRINGTON, Langford Court.

It is very hard, but it is very true, that former favours always draw fresh solicitations on the generous hand that bestowed them. You might have thought that your most bountiful gift of fruit last year at the Bible meeting,[461] might [smudged] our mouths for ever, and yet it is the very cause of our again opening them.

Our strawberries are just over, and our Raspberries though coming on fast will not suffice for our guests on thursday -- Cherries we have none -- I therefore humbly solicit for any thing you can spare, and if you can spare nothing, I know you will forgive my having made the request.

I wish Miss Addington among her fashionable correspondents[462] could obtain any information respecting the French Play-House[463] in London whether the performers are Actors or Amateurs, how often acted, whether all the performers are French, or only gallicised English Men and

---

[461] More hosted the branch meeting of The British and Foreign Bible Society each year in July. She refers here to the meeting of 9 July, 1818. See above, letter No. 96.

[462] More is no longer in touch with the London world of drama as she was in the 1780s when her play, Percy, was produced for the stage.

[463] If More means a theatre with a French name she could be referring to the Sans Pareil on the Strand. It changed ownership in 1819 and was renamed the Adelphi. Since More had not been to London for a number of years, she may not have been aware that the name of the theatre had been changed.

Women -- Though now too late for the purpose[464] I wished, I shall be glad to ascertain the fact.

Forgive my dear Madam this hasty and bold scrawl

from your ever obliged
and faithful
H. More

B. Wood
Monday Morning

---

[464] More was in the process of finishing her Moral Sketches; the Preface to the first edition is dated July 24, 1819 at Barley Wood; More presented a copy of the first edition to the future King George IV. Later, she rewrote the Preface for an edition of 1822 as a "tribute of veneration " to the late King George III (Roberts, II, 337). I have found too, evidence of a tenth edition in 1830 of this popular work. More's interest in the French playhouse pertains to her Moral Sketches, in which she chastises Britons for their "growing attachment for foreign manners" (Works, 1830, IV, 181), a theme she had been interested in for a number of years. See also letter No. 62 above.

101. To Miss Addington 1819

Endorsed year. Black wax seal.

My dear Madam

A thousand thanks for such a truly kind offer. She[465] was much affected at hearing of it, and expressed it as well as she could.

Happily the two Miss Roberts'[466] unexpectedly are just arrived who will be very useful as well as a great comfort so you see we are well off for the present.

Many thanks for the fine peaches. This favour leads me to beg another. Dr. Lovell[467] wishes her to moisten her mouth continually with a single grape -- a *single* bunch therefore will be very acceptable ours do not ripen well -- I should be sorry to have more as I would rather beg again, and we expect some from Blaise Castle[468] on Monday night.

---

[465] Martha (Patty) More. Mary Addington must have offered to perform some kindness for Patty, who had been ill throughout 1819.

[466] These very supportive friends, a generation younger than the two remaining More sisters, came to Barley Wood to assist the Mores when they were ill. The Roberts also provided company and friendship for the More sisters throughout the last decades of their lives.

[467] Physician to Patty.

[468] The home of John Harford, More's neighbour, who was thought to be the model for More's protagonist, the ideal young man, in her novel, *Coelebs*. Almost ten years after the date of this letter, More sold Barley Wood to John's brother, William Harford. Blaise Castle, an estate with a medieval-style folly but no genuinely old castle, features in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*.

D. Lovell is just gone but kindly comes again on Monday -- gratefully

yours

HM

I have had a sad bilious attack[illegible] all the week.

[illegible] Although a bilious attack was usually thought to be indigestion, More describes her health problems as "considerable disease in the liver" in a letter of 1823 to Mr. and Mrs. Huber (Roberts II, 345).

102. To Mrs. Addington 4 October 1819

Endorsed name, date, and "Mrs. M. More's death."[470] Black wax and black-edged paper.

My dearest Madam

I have been waiting to write you a line, but weakness in my eyes,[471] and very bad health with other circumstances[472] far more painful have prevented me.

Tho I still keep alone to my room in order to avoid seeing company as much as from indisposition, yet I shall be most happy whenever it may be quite convenient to you and Miss Addington to indulge me with a call. I have felt most sensibly your and her great kindness in the hour of affliction -- I most cordially thank both of you and am my dear Madam with

true regard your
faithful and obligd
H. More

Monday
B. Wood

---

[470] Hannah More lost the last of her four sisters, Martha (Patty), on 14 September, 1819, following a "sharp," four-day "trial" (Roberts, II, 280). William Wilberforce and the Miss Roberts were present at Barley Wood when Patty died.

[471] By this time, More was 74 years of age. Given the frequency of her reading and writing, coupled with the availability of only low candlelight or possibly the shadowy light from kerosene or paraffin lamps, it is understandable that her eyesight would suffer.

[472] Patty's death.

103: To Mrs. Addington 10 December 1819

Endorsed name, date. No post mark.

My dear Madam

It is now some days since I have had any intelligence respecting your dear patient,[473] and though I am unwilling to trouble you, yet I cannot help begging for half a line of information. I should have sent the Miss Roberts'[474] who are with me for a week to call at your door with my inquiries had the weather permitted.

Rivington[475] has sent for my permission to collect and publish together, the Tracts and ballads I wrote in the last two or three years, against Sedition[476] and impiety.[477] I desire your acceptance of the little Volume.

---

[473] Mary Addington.

[474] A return visit since the death of Patty More.

[475] Brothers, Charles and Francis Rivington, were the third generation in a family of publishers. More had used this firm to avoid detection as the author of "Village Politics" in 1792 and for her subsequent Cheap Repository Tracts of 1795-98. I have found no evidence that the volume More mentions here has survived. The British Library Catalogue lists publications by Rivington, of several hundred pages, in 1799, 1803, 1812 and 1827 only.

With my kindest love to dear Miss Addington

I am my dear Madam

Yours sincerely

H. More

Barley Wood

Friday

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[476] More's idea of sedition would most certainly include the Peterloo fiasco which had occurred in St. Peter's Fields near Manchester on 16 August, 1819. Henry Hunt had arranged for a meeting of over 60,000 people to discuss Parliamentary reform. Although the crowd was orderly, local Justices of the Peace -- who were supervised by Sidmouth's Home Office -- sent in an amateur group of Yeomen to break up the meeting. Eleven people were killed. As in the past, More believes in the power of her anti-reform propaganda to discourage "seditious" activities.

[477] Because the King is also head of the Church, More considers sedition and impiety to be one and the same. More expresses this view in her charge to the Shipham Female Club in 1801, as reported by Martha More in the Mendip Annals: "remember that religion and loyalty are inseparable; that those who honour the king must be obedient to the magistrate, and those who profess to love their country will best prove it by obeying the laws" (Mendip Annals, 245).

104. To Mrs. Addington 1819

Endorsed, name only.

My dear Madam

I am glad you like my dear little Dialogues.[478] I send the Volume of another dear friend[479] with whose fine taste I think you will be pleased. I do feel the weather. I hope your dear patient[480] does well.

Y^rs^ most truly

HM

---

[478] More's tracts. See above, letter No. 103.

[479] Unidentified.

[480] Mary Addington.

105. To Mrs. Addington 4 February 1820

Endorsed name, date. Black was seal.

My dear Madam

Many thanks for your repeated kind recollections of one whose anxious thoughts still often turn to Langford Court; though, I thank God without dread, yet not without impatience at this long protracted trial,[481] sent no doubt to the dear sufferer to exercise her faith and patience; both have been well tried and she has stood the trial. Your Royalty news[482] is reviving. One cannot but weep for the best of kings and ^yet^ rejoyce at his having attained his heavenly Crown. May God bless and direct his successor! This is my earnest prayer. Poor Duke,[483] or rather poor Duchess of Kent! The Radicals need not envy Royalty, tho I believe they think the great have not ^the^ common feelings or affections of humanity.

---

[481] Mary Addington has been ill for almost three months.

[482] Having slipped, for the last time, into dementia caused by his worsening kidney condition, King George III died.

[483] Brother of newly-crowned George IV, and father of Queen Victoria. The Duke of Kent had been in favour of savage punishment while in the army; he had planned schemes against his brother, the Prince Regent; he became a radical, adopting the socialism of Robert Owen; he left his French mistress of 27 years to marry the Princess of Leningen. More knows the new King will make his brother suffer but she pities more, the wife of this man.

Miss Roberts[484] [sic] were they at home would thank you for your kind remembrance.

I have broke prison after six weeks confinement.

My best love[485] to your very dear patient.

Y^rs^ dearest Madam
most truly
H. More

I question if you can [read] this vile scrawl.

---

[484] Have been at Barley Wood since December, 1819.

[485] More's expressed affection for Mary Addington has become more frequent since Mary's illness began.

106. To Mrs. Addington 16 February 1820

Endorsed name, date. Black wax seal.[486]

Lethbridge forever!![487]

My dear Madam

It is quite delightful to me to find that you can really report progress in the case of your dear Invalid. I truly thank God for this improvement.

You are rather late in canvassing me for Sir John Lethbridge. I had a most flattering letter from himself some time ago; but I did not require such a bribe. He is, he tells me almost quite sure but adds we must not relax. Every one I know is warmly disposed in his favour -- Even Sir Abraham Elton[488] as I hear.

It is droll that in my obscurity and my sick - ish room (for I was soon driven upstairs again) I have had applications to canvas for three Candidates; all on the right ^side^ and for three different places. -- I am a little frightened for my friend Sir Thomas Acland[489] -- tho he is not one of my three.

Yours sincerely

---

[486] A semi-rear view -- glancing back to the right of male head with Christ-type longish hair and beard.

[487] Having lost the election in 1818, Sir John Lethbridge is again running for office. See above, letter No. 93.

[488] See above, letter No. 95.

[489] Acland is re-elected for Devon. See letter Nos. 70 and 93 above.

My dear Madam

H. More

107. To Mrs Addington 25 July 1820

Endorsed name, date. Seal

My dear Madam

I cannot sufficiently thank you for your great and respected bounty -- I am grieved you should have robbed yourself of such a large portion of fruit --[490] alas! I have forbidden all my friends tomorrow, except the Bishop of Gloucester[491] whom I shall feast with your dainties. How I long to see dear Miss Addington.

As to myself I have lost much ground[492] the last three weeks. I did myself much injury by two attempts to go a little way in the carriage -- it brought on each time a severe fever and many restless nights; and I am not near so well as a month ago --

Adieu dearest Madam

Yours gratefully
and affectionately[493]
H. More

---

[490] Mrs. Addington continues to provide for More's physical needs.

[491] Henry Ryder, successively Bishop of Gloucester, Lichfield, and Coventry, had been the first Evangelical clergyman to be made a Bishop (1815). Evidently, he was a close friend of More's: she admits him to Barley Wood while others are kept away.

[492] William Roberts notes that More suffered an especially long illness throughout the spring and summer of 1820.

[493] More's language to Mrs. Addington is now more intimate than in previous letters. Their relationship has deepened since the deaths of John Addington and of Martha More.

I delight in your report of your dear companion.[494]

---

[494] Her daughter, Mary Addington.

108. To Mrs Addington 10 October 1822[495]

Endorsed name, date. Seal.

My dear Madam

Many thanks for all the good eating you have been so kind to send me. The Pheasant was excellent. Have the goodness to send the Bishop of Gloucester's Charge.[496] I was much affected with Mr. H. Addington's kind farewell visit.[497] I pray God to protect and bless him. With my best regards to Miss A. I am ever

My dear Madam

Your obliged and faithful

H. More

---

[495] There is a gap, in this collection, of more than two years between More's last letter to Mrs. Addington and this one.

[496] More requests a printed copy of the bishop's "Charge," which is formal instruction given by him to his clergy.

[497] Along with his mother and sister, Henry Addington demonstrates his concern for the family's old friend, Hannah More. He travelled and lived outside Great Britain throughout his political career -- he must having been leaving the country again in this instance.

109. To Mrs. Addington 13 December 1822

Endorsed name, date. Red wax seal. No salutation.

How shall I thank you my dearest Madam for so many kindnesses and attentions? I was much affected at your very acceptable present of my poor friend ^x^ [MA notes Mrs. Garrick[498] in pencil] -- Ah how unlike the elegant woman I knew over fifty years ago, yet I doubt not a just resemblance of 97!! I shall prize it much. Many thanks for the pens which are at least curious, if not better than our own geese produce. Tho the sight of you always affords me particular pleasure yet I never wish to obtain the gratification at your expense. The frost affected me much at first but I bear it better now. That kind Bishop of Gloucester has sent me a nice Thermometer[499] for my room accompanied with some very pretty verses which you shall see when you come. I did not suspect him of being a Poet.

---

[498] Eva Maria Veigel [Garrick] had died in October, 1822 at age ninety nine. Mrs. Addington must have sent More a painting or an engraving of Mrs. Garrick's likeness. More had been a great friend of David Garrick's wife both while he was alive and after his death. The Garricks' home had been More's residence during her trips to London during the 1770s and 1780s; it was there that More met the teenage Miss Necker (later Madame de Stael). More and Mrs. Garrick corresponded for over forty years.

[499] More must have been concerned about keeping her room warm enough. The Bishop continues to display his affection for More.

Miss Frowd[500] joins in best respects to you and dear Miss Addington.

Yours ever my
dear Madam
most affectionately
H. More --

I fear to detain your messenger --

---

[500] Mary Frowd resided with More after Patty's death. Thompson notes that Frowd inspected the three schools that remained at Nailsea, Shipham, and Cheddar; she presided over the annual anniversary feasts which were attended by gentry and clergy as well as students, their parents, and the townspeople (Thompson, Life, 311). More tells Lady Tryphena Bathurst that Miss Frowd, her "amiable young friend," answered More's letters of friendship for her (Roberts II, 351). I have not found a date for Miss Frowd's leaving More. She was still with More when Barley Wood was sold and More moved to Clifton in 1827. Perhaps she remained until More died in 1833.

110. To Mrs Addington April 1823

Endorsed name, date.

My dear Madam

I did not say half, no, not a quarter enough, of my admiration of the Artist,[501] and my gratitude for the liberal and most gratifying kindness of Mr. Addington[502] to whom I instruct you to present my grateful thanks. I am sorry the brown loaf cannot be early enough to be laid on your breakfast Table.

Ever affectionately

Yours H. More

When you write to Mr. H. Addington pray assure him of my kindest regards. -- I do love him.[503]

---

[501] Not identified.

[502] Mr. Addington would be Haviland, the heir. He must have delivered a work of art to her, perhaps one done by Miss Addington.

[503] Henry Unwin Addington.

111. To Mrs. Addington 18 July 1823

Endorsed name, date. Seal. Addressed to Langford Court.

My dear Madam

I know not how sufficiently to express my gratitude for your unwearied kind attentions.

Your kindness has enabled me to make an experiment which has proved a material comfort to me. After having not tasted fruit for four Years,[504] I have taken yours (ripe and sweet as it is) not only with impunity but profit.

This I know will give pleasure to your benevolent heart. With love to Miss A. I am

dear Madam Y^r^ faithful

H. More

---

[504] More's recurring illnesses included digestive difficulties.

112. To Mrs Addington 23 July 1823

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to "Langford Court/With a Brown Loaf." Red wax seal.

My dear Madam

Wednesday night

I believe you deal with the Banshee[505] or some other Wizard. Your bounty of fruit is so particularly acceptable as I am expecting the Bishop of St. David's[506] tomorrow evening, and I am sure the grapes at least will keep. My Cottage is much honoured to lodge two Bishops (and the best of them) within a week. I tremble for the weather next Tuesday. I hope the little loaf will be in time for your breakfast -- it was to have been sent this even. Love to Miss A

in haste dear Madam

Truly yours

H.More

---

[505] A woman of the fairies whose cry foreshadows death in a house. More jests with Mrs. Addington. In a previous letter of the week before (No. 111), she had told Mrs. Addington how grateful she was for her gift of fruit, which helped to relieve some digestive difficulties. Here she implies that her digestive difficulties could have been the death of her, if not for Mrs. Addington's fruit.

[506] From Pembrokeshire.

113. To Mrs Addington 28 October 1823

Endorsed name, date. Seal.

My dear Madam

What shall I say for your repeated and continual kindness? You really are too good to me -- To give both dinners and desserts,[507] is really too much.

I am much concerned to hear of your indisposition. I hope it is not severe and that it will not be Tedious but it is trying to go to the Sea in search of health,[508] and to bring back a complaint you did not carry thither.

I hope Miss Addington has been more fortunate and has improved in strength.

My poor girl Louise[509] has been saying these two days, "I am sure Mrs Addington is due.[510] I will look out for her." [punctuation obscured].

Miss Frowd joins in every respectful and good wish with my dearest Madam

Your grateful and
faithful H. More

---

[507] Mrs. Addington has increased her support of the now aged More.

[508] Mrs. Addington must have gone recently to Lynmouth or another sea spa. "Regular immersion in salt water" was thought to provide health benefits (Pool, What Jane Austen Ate, 276).

[509] One of More's servants.

[510] Louise has been keeping watch for Mrs. Addington, who she expects will visit Barley Wood when she returns from a trip to the seaside.

I hope you have heard good accounts of the Transatlantic Ambassador.[511]

---

[511] Henry Unwin Addington, who has been the Secretary of Legation in Washington since the previous year. He is preparing to negotiate a slave trade treaty with the U.S.A.

114. To Miss Addington [October 1823]

Unendorsed. Seal. No address.

My dear Miss Addington

I hope I have sent the right Reviews.

A thousand thanks for all your kindness -- venison and fruit -- Dinner and Dessert! --[512] how kind!

Would you had been here yesterday! -- Mrs. Newgate Fry --[513] She is quite delightful. We were ready to devour each other.

Ever your obliged
and faithful
H. More

Miss Frowd's
best regards.

---

[512] More uses the same expression in a letter to Mrs. Addington in October, 1823. See letter No. 113 above.

[513] Elizabeth (Gurney) Fry (1780-1845) had established a school in Newgate Prison for juvenile prisoners, for children of prisoners and for adult female prisoners. June Rose mentions Fry's trip to Bristol and Bath in 1823, when she "met Hannah More, a great admirer of hers" (Rose, Elizabeth Fry, 121). Rose states that the trip occurred when Fry's baby, born in November 1822, was eleven months old. This would place the month of the visit in October of 1823, not in the "summer of 1823" as has been suggested by M.G. Jones (Jones Hannah More, 215). Their many common interests regarding education and philanthropy would have contributed to this very successful meeting at Barley Wood between More and Fry.

115. To Mrs. Addington 23 December 1823

Endorsed name, date. Also "She was at this time between 79-80 Years of Age --." Red wax seal.

My dear Madam

A thousand thanks for your unexhausted and inexhaustible kindness. I must say, with Madame de Sevigné,[514] je n'ai que me jetter dans l'ingratitude and so quiet my conscience.

Cordially wishing you and dear Miss A. all the consolations and benefits of the approaching gracious Season I remain ever

My dearest Madam,
Your very faithful
and obliged
H. More

The Miss Roberts'[515] best respects.

---

[514] French letter-writer. See above, letter No. 19.

[515] These two sisters continue to support their elderly friend.

116. To Mrs. Addington 6 January 1824

Endorsed name, date. Also "with an Enclosure from Harry." WRINGTON, "not to be put into the bag." Red wax seal.

My dear Madam

As a great treat I send you the inclosed admirable letter. Our young Ambassador[516] has all the judgment & discrimination of the oldest Diplomat, together with the eloquence so important in that character, and knowledge of mankind more necessary, than any other quality.

With my love to Miss Addington. I am

My dear Madam,
Your faithful
and obliged H. More

If Mr. Addington is with you[517] I would take the liberty to ask him to let his Servant pay a small bill[518] for me in London.

---

[516] Henry Unwin Addington.

[517] Haviland Addington.

[518] It is possible that the small bill is More's contribution of eleven pounds to a subscription for a poor family. James Montgomery describes this transaction in a letter of 1824 to More (Roberts, II, 365).

117. To Mrs. Addington January 1826

Endorsed name, date. Addressed to Langford Court.

My dear Madam

Having received a magnificent present of Pheasants &c from my Royal Game Keeper the Duke of Gloucester, I beg your acceptance of a small portion of his bounty.

I hope you and yours are quite stout.[519] I was delighted to see Mr Addington,[520] and to see him so well.

The Miss Roberts' join in best regards with my dear Madam

Your faithful and obliged

H. More

Have you got my "Angleterre by Baron de Stael"?[521]

Saturday

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[519] Vigorous, healthy.

[520] Haviland Addington. More implies here that Haviland must not have been well at other times.

[521] Stael-Holstein, Auguste Louis, baron de, 1790-1827, son of Madame de Stael. She wrote the novels Delphine, Corinne, and De l'Allemagne. In a letter of 1823, More gives her views of the works of this mother and son: "How I honour the Baron de Stael. Had his unhappy mother employed her talents (unrivalled by any woman certainly) in the way her son has employed his, she would have been as much the object of love and esteem, as she always must be of admiration" (Roberts, II, 363).

118. To Mrs. Addington August 1827

Endorsed name, date. Also "she is some Months from 83."

Seal.

My dear Madam

I know not how to thank you enough for your unwearied acts of kindness to me -- Oh how I grieved at your departure last night -- I know the cause -- The Dean[522] had wished to see the Constantinople lady,[523] and I did not [know omitted] how to separate them

You would have been delighted with the Dean's evening worship -- He is a very superior being both in talents and piety --

Miss Frowd[524] is out walking or would say more and better. -- With love to Miss A

Yours dear Madam
most truly
H. More

---

[522] Annotation in pencil, "Dean of Salisbury." He must have come to Barley Wood with Mrs. Addington.

[523] Unidentified.

[524] In this last letter of the collection, Miss Frowd still resides with More at Barley Wood and it is clear that she moves with More to Windsor Terrace, Clifton the next 18 April, 1828. More describes her "court" at Clifton in which Miss Frowd figures prominently: "my domestic chaplain, secretary, and house apothecary, knitter, and lamp-lighter, missionary to my numerous and learned seminaries, and without controversy, the queen of clubs" (Roberts, II, 430).

UNDATED LETTERS TO MR. ADDINGTON

John Addington died in June, 1818. There are no dated letters to him in this collection after 12 December 1817 (No. 84 here). The following four letters must have been written during 1817, or earlier.

ONE. Black wax seal. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble^/ Mr. Addington." No date.

My dear Sir

Very sorry Mr. Seyer[525] was just gone but we will send it after him for the gratification of Mr. Gatek but will desire to have it returned. To print it in this pompous manner was a grand project particularly as the St. James's Chronicle[526] which we have just been reading gives a rather favourable report of the Bristol Meeting, which would give a false impression. Mr. Seyer says it would have been very fortunate if your engagements could have allowed you to have met the Bristol Gentlemen.   HM.

---

[525] Rev. Samuel Seyer. Cadell and Davies, Hannah More's long-time publishers, released Seyer's Latin text for students (1798). Seyer's activities in religion and education at Bristol were in common with More's. It sounds as if Addington had wanted Mr. Seyer to take a pamphlet about a meeting at Bristol to a Mr. Gatek. I am not able to determine either a date for this letter or the identity of "the Bristol gentlemen."

[526] The earliest entry for this publication in the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue is 1768. The Chronicle included speeches of Parliamentarians such as Fox, epistles, letters, and short poems. I have not been able to find the issue to which More refers in this letter.

TWO. Addressed to "Right Hon J. H. Addington." 28 October. No year.[527]

My dear Sir

I heard with much concern the other day from Mrs. Addington of your painful and tedious indisposition.[528] I hope she will send me a better report soon, but these continual rains are very unfriendly.

I ought not, under your present circumstances to trouble you, but besides that the weight of my inclosure would overpower ^any^ but your potent Frank. I have quite forgotten the street in which Mr. Inglis[529] lives. Mr. H. Addington[530] will perhaps be so good to add it with my cordial wishes for your speedy restoration.

I am ever my dear Sir
Yours truly obliged
H. More

B. Wood 28 Oct^br

---

[527] Since John Addington died in June of 1818, this letter must have been written 28 October, 1817 or earlier.

[528] Gout.

[529] More's old friend who, with his wife, took on the care of the Thornton children when they were orphaned.

[530] Henry Unwin Addington must have been home from abroad.

THREE. Evidence of a seal. Addressed to "Right Hon^ble J. H. Addington." No date.

My dear Sir

As of two great evils I think it rather the least to trouble you to alter[531] fourteen to fifteen than to be hanged my ^self for^ forgery I am compelled to request this favour.

Much grieved at your indisposition,[532] but hope to have a good verbal report by the servant.

I am ever dear Sir
Your grateful
H. More

---

[531] Addington must be editing one of More's works.

[532] Gout; or, if this letter is written near John Addington's death in mid 1818, then possibly the indisposition is more serious. When he died he was suffering from an inflammation of the bladder.

FOUR. Red wax seal. Tiny note. Addressed to "Right Hon. J. H. Addington." No date.

My dear Sir

100,00000 of thanks for the most important intelligence[533] I ever received. It makes our pulse beat double tides.

God be praised for the happy prospects which are opening before us! The Town I presume will receive this surprising guest.[534] Joyfully and most gratefully yours

My dear Sir

H. More

---

[533] More's excitement suggests that she has received news of some publicly-acknowledged accomplishment of Henry Unwin Addington. He was posted in Switzerland from 1814-1818. According to British Diplomatic Representatives, he was placed in charge during Canning's absence from negotiations at Vienna in 1814. It is possible that More refers to this honour, but impossible to be sure. More was most fond of Henry Unwin Addington as indicated in letter No. 110 above.

[534] See note above.

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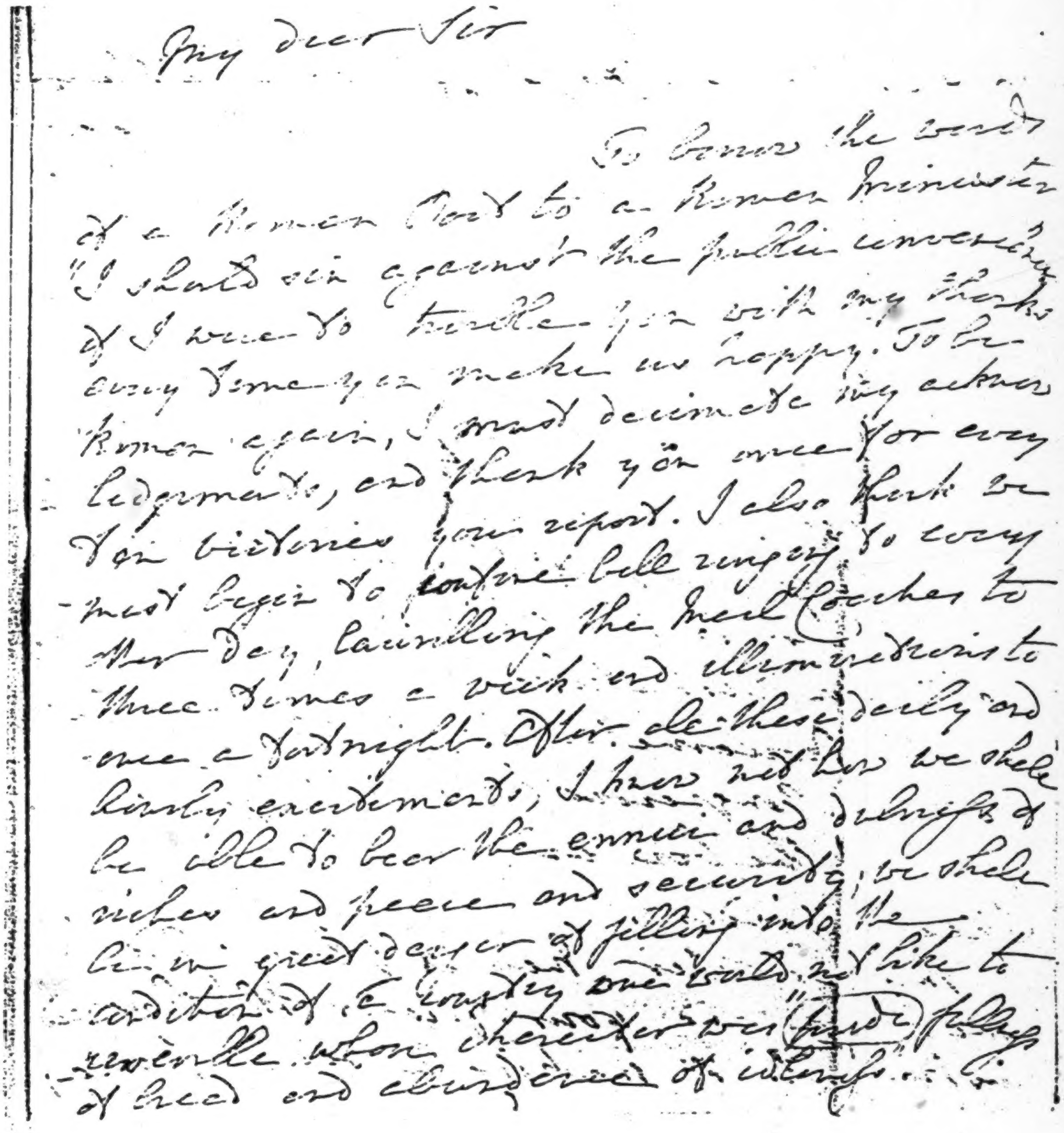
APPENDIX A

Letter No. 26 to Mr. Addington   27 June 1813. Page 1.



My dear Sir

To borrow the words
of a Roman Poet to a Roman Minister
"I should sin against the public conveniency
if I were to trouble you with my thanks
every time you make us happy. To be
Roman again, I must decimate my acknowledgments, and thank you once for every
ten victories you report. I also think we
must begin to confine bell ringing to every
other day, limiting the mail Coaches to
three times a week and illuminations to
once a fortnight. After all these daily and
lively excitements, I know not how we shall
be able to bear the ennui and dulness of
riches and peace and security; we shall
be in great danger of falling into the
condition of a country one would not like to
resemble whose character was "pride fulness
of bread and abundance of idleness."